VARIANT READINGS OF THE QUR'AN:

A Critical Study of their Historical and Linguistic Origins

AHMAD ʿALI AL-IMAM

With a Preface by
TAHA JABIR AL-ALWANI

This fascinating and important book attempts to investigate the nature of the seven *Aḥruf* in which the Qur'an has been revealed and the reason for the variations in readings among the *Qurrā'* of the Qur'an. It studies, examines, and discusses:

- The revelation of the Qur'an in the seven *aḥruf* concluding that they represent seven linguistical ways of recitation.
- The compilation of the Qur'an during the lifetime of the Prophet and the preservation of the Qur'an in the memories of the Companions as well as in written form, the compilation during the time of Abū Bakr, and the further compilation during the time of 'Uthmān.
- The problem of *naskh* to demonstrate the completeness and trustworthiness of the Qur'an and that no verses are missing or were read and abrogated by *naskh al-tilāwah* either with or without *ḥukm*.
- The Uthmanic *maṣāḥif* and their relation to the seven *aḥruf*.
- The language of the Qur'an and whether it includes one, several, or all the dialects of the Arabs.
- The origin of the *qirā'āt* and conditions governing accepted readings.
- *Ikhtiyār* (i.e., the selection of one reading rather than another) and the rules governing the *Qurrā'* who selected a reading.

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FOREWORD

Of knowledge, we have none, save what
You have taught us. (The Qur'an 2:32)

The International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) has great pleasure in presenting this new edition of a scholarly work originally published by the Institute in 1998 on: *Variant Readings of the Qur'an, A Critical Study of their Historical and Linguistic Origins*. The first edition of the book marked the fourth in the Institute's Academic Dissertations series and it is hoped that this edition will be equally as well received for the nature and scope of its important subject matter.

The author, Professor Ahmad ʿAli al-Imam, has studied and memorised the Qur'an since early childhood, obtaining a PhD on the subject of "Variant Readings" from the University of Edinburgh. This book is a distillation of his PhD thesis and a unique work on the authenticity of the text of the Qur'an as received generation after generation, aurally as well as in writing, from the Prophet. Professor al-Imam presents us with a work of serious and careful scholarship, well researched and wide-ranging in scope, in which he not only examines the history and evolution of the seven *aḥruf* in which the Qur'an has been revealed but also the various developments that led to the compilation of the *muṣḥaf* of ʿUthmān. From memorisation, through to the inclusion of the signs of vocalization and dottings (*ḥarakāt*), the views of scholars who interpret the seven *aḥruf*, the origins of *qirā'āt* etc., the reader's understanding and appreciation are logically and intelligently developed with a view to deepening their relationship with the Qur'an and increasing their awareness of the linguistic resurgence which it set in motion.

The IIIT, established in 1981, has served as a major center to facilitate sincere and serious scholarly efforts based on Islamic vision, values and principles. Its programs of research, seminars and conferences during the last

twenty five years have resulted in the publication of more than three hundred and sixty titles in English and Arabic, many of which have been translated into several other languages.

We would like to thank the editorial and production team at the London Office and those who were directly or indirectly involved in the completion of this book: Jay Willoughby, Fouzia Butt, and Shiraz Khan. May God reward them, and the author, for all their efforts.

Rabī' I 1427
April 2006

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PREFACE

The subject of this book, related as it is to diverse fields of interest, occupies a distinctive place in Qur'anic and Islamic studies, not to mention linguistics, rhetoric, and logic. There are several ways to approach this topic: the relationship between the Qur'an and the Prophet's Sunnah; the essential differences between the Qur'an and the Sunnah; the Arabic language and its ability to express, with power, Divine Revelation; the extent to which humanity can deal with a language that served as a conduit for the Divine, in terms pronunciation or understanding; or humanity's capacity to deal with and to comprehend the changes that inevitably occur in any language's organization, style, expressiveness, and inimitability.

Some of the most important issues come to us through narrations of varying degrees of authenticity, particularly those concerning the plurality of Qur'anic recitations, how they were passed down, and the relative renown of each. Witness, for example, the "seven letters" hadith and its many supporting narrations. Thus it is fitting to focus on the relationship between the Qur'an and the Sunnah in order to provide an appropriate framework for reading and understanding this book.

In his *Al-Risālah*, Imam Shāfi'ī defines the relationship between the Qur'an and the Sunnah as one of the latter elucidating (*bayān*) the former. At times, the Qur'an is perfectly clear, immediately apparent, and requires no further elucidation. At other times, the meaning of its verses is explained by other verses or is interpreted over time. In most instances, however, the Sunnah clarifies the meaning, for this is its basic function.

Imam Shāfi'ī affirmed that nothing can compare or compete with the Qur'anic text (in terms of its significance) other than something that is equal to it (i.e., another verse from the Qur'an). Many of the examples that he derived from these principles were, unfortunately, misunderstood due to their intricacy. Then, given his understanding of the relationship and his limiting the concept of "text" (*nass*) to the Qur'an alone, he relegated the Sunnah to second place. As a result, it cannot abrogate any Qur'anic verse.

Imam Shāfi'ī sought to maintain the Sunnah's status as an elucidator of the Qur'an. Most of the challenges he faced came from people who tried to disengage the Sunnah from the Qur'an by raising issues of authenticity (e.g., *tawātur*) and meaning (e.g., *qaṭ'* and *ẓann*) to drive a wedge between the the two. In some of his works, among them *Al-Risālah*, *Mukhtalif al-Hadīth*, and *Jamā' al-'Ilm*, Imam Shāfi'ī focussed on this objective. Given that the Qur'an's sovereignty and primacy were clear in his mind, he considered the Sunnah to be the second source – an elucidation – for legislation in cases where there was no apparent teaching from the Qur'an.

As the Qur'an attempts to erect a stable relationship between itself and humanity on the one hand, and between itself and the universe on the other, it is distinguished from every other discourse by its unique syntax and composition as well as by how it was communicated to humanity: The Qur'an was revealed to an unlettered Prophet who realized that the only way he could preserve it was via his memory or his own powers of retention. Thus he received the text and did whatever he could to preserve every single letter and syllable. Despite Allah's repeated assurances that He will preserve the message; that He will have the angel Jibril [Gabriel] recite it to him so that he will remember it; and that He will preserve it in his heart and then explain it to him. The Prophet's only responsibility was to give himself wholly to receiving and accepting the message. However, after doing so, he had to implement its principles and provide a living example of its teachings to fully elucidate its meanings.

Indeed, there is a major difference between taking dictation and reciting revelation. Dictation may be received while the memory is at rest, for the goal is restricted to writing down what is heard. On the other hand, recitation, especially in the case of the Qur'an, involves the full exercise of one's senses, heart, consciousness, mind, and memory. Under these circumstances, the message very nearly becomes a part of the listener. As it is no longer under his control, it becomes easy for him to recite and deliver it to others and to have it written down.

In addition, the message's oral transmission allows those who hear it to familiarize their tongues, hearts, and minds with it. Within this framework, the recited text will sometimes allow a plurality of recitations, as the author shows in remarkable detail. The oral environment lent itself to this sort of reasonable latitude and promoted a sense of congeniality and familiarity between the text and those who accepted it. At the same time, the text retained its primacy over the language of the Revelation and thus made the language its mouthpiece for promoting the people's understanding and

interpretation of the text. We may view the issue of the Qur'an's "facilitation" by the Almighty, as articulated in the verse, in the following way: "We made this Qur'an easy to bear in mind. Who, then, is willing to take it to heart?" (54:17).

The stage of recorded entry and composition to prepare for the text's emergence and subsequent transition from oral transmission to book form came later. This inaugurated a new stage of interaction with the text: between the text and humanity on the one hand, and between the text and historical reality on the other. Thus the Qur'anic text became capable of encompassing the entire universe in a comprehensive and absolute manner. In order to establish such an inimitable relationship between its letters and the universe, the Revelation lasted for 23 years. After this came a period of oral transmission and then one of collecting what the people had memorized and written down, until the Qur'an appeared in a book form for humanity at large.

The Qur'an set in motion a process of change predicated on what I call "the integrating of the two readings," namely, the reading of the text and the reading of the real-existential. This constituted the methodology for the correct recitation of the Qur'an. It is very difficult for readers to discover the Qur'an's meanings within a framework that prefers one style of recitation or one dimension (e.g., the historical or the legal), for it has an infinite number of dimensions. Furthermore, we can begin to understand some of them only by appreciating the subtle affinities between the Qur'an and humanity, and between the Qur'an and the universe. Only the Prophet has understood all of these dimensions in their entirety. Once a year, the Prophet would review with Jibril all that had been revealed to him. In the year of his death, they reviewed the entire Qur'an twice to ensure that all of its components and letters, as well as the order of its words, verses, and chapters were all correct; and that the Qur'an was placed correctly in regard to humanity and the universe.

This perfect and infallible guide teaches all people about Allah's Oneness (*tawḥīd*) and purifies them so that they can assume their responsibilities, be successful in the test of life, and make this planet a better place. As such, the Qur'an is the book of the universe by which one may "read" and interpret the universe's signs and clarify the dimensions essential to living a productive life in it. Likewise, the universe's signs clarify, elucidate, and interpret the Qur'an

Within this framework of multiple recitations, the Prophet discouraged his Companions from writing anything along with the Qur'an, not, as many

have supposed, to prevent possible contamination, but to enable the Muslims to interact with the Qur'an exclusively so that everything else would become secondary. Moreover, He endowed it with the sort of rhetoric and eloquence that was clearly beyond anyone's ability to reproduce.

In the same vein, the Qur'an was made superior to the Arabic language for all time. There is a great difference between using Arabic to understand the Qur'an's syntax and its words' meanings to assist in hermeneutics, and making it superior to the Qur'an. It is forbidden to exchange one word for a synonym or one expression for another, even if one is sure that the exact meaning intended by the Almighty was retained, for each word used in the Qur'an is of divine origin, whereas its replacement is of human origin.

The Arabs, who preserved their poetry by means of meter and rhyme, could instantly detect a mistake (e.g., a broken meter, an incorrect rhyme, a mistaken form, or mismatched feet) in any poetic verse. The Qur'an's syntax and style go far beyond those of Arabic poetry and prose, forming an internal safeguard that guarantees that no errors will occur in its text. This is why the Qur'anic scholar al-Zamulkānī states:

> The Qur'an's inimitability goes back to the particular way it was composed, not to the composition itself. Its vocabulary is balanced in terms of its syntax and etymology, and its constructs impart the most sublime meanings.

Ibn Aṭiyah writes:

> The correct opinion, and the one held by the majority of scholars in regard to the Qur'an's inimitability, is that it is due to the Qur'an's syntax and its veracity. This is because the Almighty's knowledge encompasses everything, and His knowledge encompasses all forms of discourse. Thus, in arranging the Qur'an's wording, the Almighty knew exactly which word was best suited to follow the one before it, and which word best yielded the intended meaning. The Book of Allah is such that if a word were removed from it and the entire Arabic lexicon were searched for a better word, it would never be found.

The following quote from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Tafsīr* provides an interesting account of the "irregular recitations":

> Al-Wahīdī narrated that in 'Abd Allāh's Qur'anic recension concerning the verse "and if You forgive them, then truly You are Mighty and Wise." (5:118)

I heard my Shaykh and my father, may Allah show him mercy, say that "'mighty and wise' in this verse was better than 'forgiving and mercy-giving,' because the Almighty's being Forgiving and Mercy-giving correlates to the state that brings about His forgiveness and mercy for all who need it. Might and wisdom, however, do not correlate to forgiveness. Allah's might implies that if He is truly mighty, and far above concern with normal considerations as to what people really deserve when He decides to forgive, then His kindness is greater than if He is described as forgiving and mercy-giving, descriptions that lead naturally to forgiveness and mercy. Thus, his interpretation, may Allah show him mercy, was to say: 'He is the Mightiest of all, and still His wisdom mandates mercy.' This is perfection at its greatest."

Others have opined that if the verse had read "and if You forgive them, then truly You are the Forgiving and the Mercy-giving," this would have imparted the meaning that He was going to intercede for them. But when the verse read "then truly You are Mighty and Wise," the meaning was clear that he [the speaker] meant to leave the matter entirely to the Almighty and chose not to have anything to do with it.

The author of *Al-Durr al-Maṣūn fī ʿUlūm al-Kitāb al-Maknūn* repeated the narration found in ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd's recension about the ending of this verse: "Then truly You are the Forgiving, the Mercy-giving." Commenting on the verse "and if You forgive them, then truly You are Mighty and Wise," he wrote:

Similar examples (of this sort of rhetoric) have already been mentioned. In the popular recitations and the recension in peoples' hands, it reads: "mighty and wise," whereas it reads: "forgiving and mercy-giving" in ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd's recension. Certain people who do not understand Arabic have trifled with this verse, saying: "The most suitable version is the one in Ibn Masʿūd's recension." Evidently, this person was unaware that the meaning is linked to the two conditions (preceding the last part of the verse). This is explained by what Abū Bakr al-Anbārī wrote when he narrated this [irregular] recitation on the authority of certain critics: "Whenever the meaning is construed in the way that this critic has reported, the meaning loses vitality. This is because he attempts to limit 'the forgiving and mercy-giving' to the second condition only, such that it has nothing to do with the first condition. In fact, it is well known that the meaning is connected to the first as well as the second condition. This is how Allah revealed the verse, and this is the agreed-upon recitation of all Muslims. The summary of the verse, then, is as follows: If you punish them, then You are mighty and wise, and if You forgive them, then You are mighty and wise, in both cases, whether in punishment or in forgiveness. Thus, it is as if 'mighty and wise' is more

> fitting in this place because of its generality, and because it combines both conditions. On the other hand, 'forgiving and mercy-giving' is clearly unsuitable as a carrier of the general meaning carried by 'mighty and wise.'"

Al-Anbārī's comments are subtle indeed. Clearly, his assertion of the meaning being connected to both conditions do not mean that the connection is made by having the last part of the verse ("mighty and wise") act in the grammatical sense as the apodosis (*jawāb al-sharṭ*) to both conditions, for that would be contrary to Arabic's grammatical rules. Grammatically speaking, the first condition ("If You punish them") already has its answer ("then they are Your servants"), for the answer corresponds to the verse's first condition. A servant is completely subservient to his master in every way. Rather, he meant that the connection to the two conditions was one of meaning. I mention this only as it pertains to the irregular and variant recitations of the Qur'an. If substituting "Forgiving" and "Mercy-giving" for "Mighty" and "Wise" led to such controversy, then what would happen when such substitutions would affect the Qur'an's level of eloquence or rhetorical effectiveness, its syntax or meaning?

In view of the above, substituting any of the Qur'an's words with their synonyms, given that the Qur'an was revealed "in seven letters," can never be justified. The most that can be imagined is that when the Islamic sciences were being developed, Muslim scholars related hadiths and lesser narrations concerning "irregular recitations" and then authenticated and classified them as successive (*mutawātir*), isolated (*āḥād*), or anomalous (*shādhdh*) on the grounds that they represented the transformation of oral transmissions to a written form. Therefore, the most likely explanation for the different recitations is that Allah granted a degree of latitude to those who did not speak the dialect in which the Qur'an was revealed. These popular oral recitations were recorded as "irregular recitations" exactly as they were recited. Later scholars continued to relate these narrations as hadiths without stopping to consider that they were recording something that was only intended to be oral. More recently, Orientalists have used these narrations to erect an edifice of hearsay and doubt concerning the integrity of the Qur'anic text.

This book is important because it identifies and reexamines these issues in the light of new scholarship. In addition, the author is a Muslim Arab scholar who specializes in Qur'anic studies. There are many English-language

studies on this subject; however, they all lack the authority of Islamic scholarship.

It is my hope that this book will fill an important void in the current literature on Islam in English and motivate scholars to undertake more studies and research into these issues. Only Allah knows our intentions, and only He guides us to the right path!

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INTRODUCTION

From my earliest years, I have been aware of the fact that the Qur'an can be recited in several styles due to the existence of three dominant readings in Sudan. In fact, the book for one of these readings, *Al-Dūrī ʿan Abū ʿAmr*, was published for the first time in Sudan in 1978.

This book investigates the reasons behind these recitations as well as their origins. I study the nature of the seven accepted styles of recitation in which the Qur'an was revealed, and conclude that they represent seven linguistic variations that reflect the Arab dialects used while reciting the Qur'an. The hadiths that substantiate the claim that the Qur'an was revealed in seven styles of recitation are found to be sound and successive.

I then study the status of the Qur'an and its oral and written history during the Prophet's lifetime, the compilations of Abū Bakr and ʿUthmān, as well as the ʿUthmānic writ that became predominant after copies of it were sent to the major cities/provinces along with distinguished *qurrā'* (Qur'anic reciters) to teach it to the people. After this all personal manuscripts that differed from the ʿUthmānic writ were burned. I then trace the development of this ʿUthmānic writ down to the printed copies that we have today and conclude that they represent the unaltered text of the Qur'an. I analyze various issues to refute all of the allegations that question the accuracy and completeness of the Qur'anic text as we know it today.

Having studied the relationship between the ʿUthmānic writ and the seven accepted styles of recitation, I conclude that the copies, which include all that is transmitted in a successive manner, accommodate either all or some of the styles of recitation that correspond with the orthography of the ʿUthmānic writ. Next, I look at the language of the Qur'an in ancient sources and in modern linguistical studies and submit that the Qur'anic text reflects the influence of various Arab dialects. The scholars disagreed on which dialect was the most fluent, according to their criteria for fluency. I attempt to distinguish between *lughah* and *lahjah* in ancient sources and modern studies. Indeed, the Qur'anic language represents the Arabs' com-

mon spoken literary language, which is based on all of their dialects but has a predominance of Qurayshī features.

The different recitations date back to the Prophet's teaching, although variant readings were noticed only after the migration to Madinah (hijrah). This was allowed so that non-Qurayshī Arabs who had embraced Islam could recite the Qur'an easily. In this respect, I found that whenever the Companions differed over in their recitation, they would refer it to the Prophet, saying that that was how he had taught it to them. This practice continued into the following generation. This book studies the conditions that a recitation must meet to be considered acceptable, along with its development, to demonstrate why they were accepted or rejected.

The recitations' antecedents, as well as the effect of Ibn Mujāhid's *Al-Sab'ah* on the following generation, are discussed along with a survey of books written about these recitation styles. The *qurrā's* selection (*ikhtiyār*) of a particular recitation style was governed by the conditions that make the recitation acceptable. Thus they did not have a free hand in their selection, and the theory of reciting the Qur'an in accordance with the meaning is shown to be groundless.

The orthography of the copies (*maṣāhif*) of the 'Uthmānic writ (*maṣḥaf al-imām*) is intended to preserve the soundly transmitted and authentic recitations, not to initiate or create a recitation. Given that some philologists and grammarians objected to accepted readings, several examples are studied. I conclude that they are sound and acceptable due to their sound transmission, fluency, and correspondence with various Arab dialects.

This study also emphasizes that the copies of the 'Uthmānic writ contain no grammatical or orthographical errors and that the sound, accepted readings, although differing in meaning, never contradict each other. In the conclusion, I briefly review the book's main issues.

I relied on the standard books, in both manuscript and printed form, on the recitations (*qirā'āt*), the sciences of the Qur'an (*'ulūm al-Qur'ān*), commentary (*tafsīr*), hadith, history, grammar, and Arabic studies. For the first two areas, I mainly benefited from Abū 'Ubaydah's *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*; Ibn Mujāhid's *Kitāb al-Sab'ah*; al-Dānī's *Al-Taysīr fī al-Qirā'āt al-Sab'*, *Al-Muqni' fī Rasm Maṣāhif al-Amṣār*, and *Al-Muḥkam fī Naqt al-Maṣāhif*; Ibn al-Bāqillānī's *Nukat al-Intiṣār*; Makkī ibn Abū Ṭālib al-Qaysī's *Al-Ibānah 'an Ma'ānī al-Qirā'āt* and *Al-Kashf 'an Wujūh al-Qirā'āt al-Sab'*, Ibn al-Jazarī's *Al-Nashr* and *Munjid al-Muqri'īn*; al-Qasṭallānī's *Laṭā'if al-Ishārāt*; al-Zarkashī's *Al-Burhān*; and al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Itqān*. In fact, they are

the most widely cited sources in any discussion about the meaning of the seven styles of recitation and their relation to the copies of the 'Uthmānic writ, the Companions' personal manuscripts and their destruction, which caused the different recitations to appear.

As regards Qur'anic commentaries, I used the books of al-Ṭabarī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Rāzī, al-Qurṭubī, Abū Ḥayyān, and Ibn Kathīr to interpret certain verses that are read in various ways and that support certain accepted readings and grammatical arguments concerning other readings. For substantiating the revelation of the Qur'an in seven styles of recitation, the Qur'an's compilation, the arrangement of its surahs and verses, and the issue of abrogation (*naskh*), I benefited from the standard hadith books by al-Bukhārī, Muslim, and other canonical works, as well as *Al-Muwaṭṭā'*, *Al-Musnad*, and the four collections of *Al-Sunan*.

I used only authentic hadiths having a sound chain of transmission (*isnād*) and context (*matn*). Furthermore, I rejected those hadiths that were not successive (*tawātur*), even if their chain of transmission was sound, because continuity is always required when dealing with the Qur'an. As for hadith commentaries, I benefited the most from Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Fatḥ al-Bārī* and al-Baghawī's *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*. I also used al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh*, Ibn al-Athīr's *Al-Kāmil*, and Ibn Kathīr's *Al-Bidāyah*, particularly for questions and issues related to the Qur'an's compilation. Finally, as regards the Qur'an's language, the question of fluency, and that of the most fluent Arab dialect, I used such primary sources as Sībawayh's *Al-Kitāb*, Ibn Fāris' *Al-Ṣāḥibī*, Ibn Jinnī's *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ*, and al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Muzhir* and *Al-Iqtirāḥ*.

In addition, I used modern studies and consulted many other books, such as al-Alūsī's *Tafsīr*, al-Zurqānī's *Manāhil al-'Irfān*, and Hammudah's *Al-Qirā'āt wa al-Lahajāt*; several of works entitled *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, composed by Rustufadūnī, al-Zinjānī, al-Kurdī, al-Ibyārī, and Shāhīn; and al-Nūr's *Ma' al-Maṣāḥif*. Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qur'an*, and Jeffery's *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'an*. In fact, my primary sources were used mainly to support the views discussed with reference to certain modern works. Although I read many books in this field, I restricted the bibliography only to those sources cited in my book.

This topic is important because it concerns the Qur'an, the main source of belief and law as well as the eternal word of Allah. In fact, no work in any Western language is wholly devoted to the question of recitations, despite the great contribution made by such Western scholars as Gustavus Fluegel, Otto Pretzl, G. Bergstraesser, and Arthur Jeffery, all of whom published texts on this subject.

In the writings of modern Arab scholars, those of Hammudah, al-Zurqani, and others are very helpful, although they only deal with certain aspects of the subject or are devoted to the Qur'anic sciences. So although much has been written, there is still a need for critical studies.

I have attempted to study, both comprehensively and critically, all questions related to the variant recitations of the Qur'an and their historical and linguistic origins. I hope that this study contributes to our knowledge of the Qur'an, which still deserves a great deal of elucidation.

Ahmad 'Ali al-Imam

CHAPTER 1

The Seven Accepted Styles of Reciting the Qur'an

From the moment of its revelation, the Qur'anic text has allowed several equally valid styles of recitation (sing. *ḥarf*, pl. *aḥruf*). Several hadiths that support this fact will be discussed to determine how and why the variant recitation styles exist and to understand the implications for the texts' meaning. The following hadith is a good point at which to begin this study:

> ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās narrated that the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: "Jibril recited the Qur'an to me in one *ḥarf*. Then I requested him [to read it in another *ḥarf*] and continued asking him to recite in other *aḥruf* until he ultimately recited it in seven *aḥruf*..."[1]

Various hadiths indicate that whenever a Companion heard another Companion recite the Qur'an in a different style, arguments and disagreements arose. One such event took place between ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Hishām ibn Ḥakīm:

> ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb narrated [that] he said: "I heard Hishām ibn Ḥakīm reciting *Surat al-Furqān* when Allah's Messenger was still alive. I listened to his recitation and noticed that he recited in several different ways that Allah's Messenger had not taught me. I was about to jump on him during his prayer, but I controlled my temper. When he completed his prayer, I put his upper garment around his neck, seized him by it, and asked: 'Who taught you this surah that I heard you reciting?' He said: 'Allah's Messenger.' I said: 'You are lying, for Allah's Messenger has taught it to me in a different way.' So I dragged him to Allah's Messenger and said [to him]: 'I heard this person reciting *Surat al-Furqān* in a way that you have not taught me.' On that, Allah's Messenger said: 'Release him [O ʿUmar]! Recite, O Hishām!' Then he recited as I had heard him reciting before. Then Allah's Messenger said: 'It was revealed in this way,' and added:

> 'Recite O 'Umar.' I recited it as he had taught me. Allah's Messenger then said: 'It was revealed in this way. This Qur'an has been revealed to be recited in seven *aḥruf*, so recite of it whichever is easier for you.'"[2]

It would appear from this hadith that the Qur'an was revealed in seven recitation styles so that the Muslims could recite it easily. In fact, many hadiths refer to this:

1. The Qur'an was sent down in seven *aḥruf*, so recite what seems easy therefrom.[3]
2. The Prophet (ṢAAS)[4] met Jibril and told him: "I have been sent to an illiterate people, among them are the old woman, the aged shaykh, the [male] servant and the female servant, and the man who has never read a book." Jibril said to him: "O Muhammad, the Qur'an has been revealed in seven *aḥruf*."[5]
3. Verily this Qur'an has been revealed in seven *aḥruf*, so recite at liberty.[6]
4. Jibril came to the Prophet and said: "Allah has commanded you to recite the Qur'an to your people in one *ḥarf*." Upon [hearing] this, he said: "I ask for Allah's pardon and forgiveness. My people are not capable of doing it."[7]
5. "Make things easy for my people" or "Make affairs easy for my people."[8]

The Qur'an also makes this point clear:

> And We have indeed made the Qur'an easy to understand and remember. (54:17)

Many commentators point out that the Arabs, who in most cases were illiterate and had various ways of pronounciation or dialects, found it very hard to abandon their dialects and ways of recitation all at once. As a result, they tried to cling strongly to their dialects.[9]

Permission to recite the Qur'an in seven styles was given after the hijrah:

> Ubayy ibn Ka'b reported that the Messenger of Allah was near the Banū Ghifār's watering place when Jibril came to him and said: "Allah has commanded you to recite to your people the Qur'an in one *ḥarf*." Upon [hearing] this, he said: "I ask for Allah's pardon and forgiveness. My people are not capable of doing it." He came a second time and said: "Allah has commanded you to recite the Qur'an to your people in two *aḥruf*." Upon [hearing] this, he again said: "I seek Allah's pardon and forgiveness. My people would not be able to do so." He (Jibril) came for a third time

> and said: "Allah has commanded you to recite the Qur'an to your people in three *aḥruf*." Upon [hearing] this, he said: "I ask Allah's pardon and forgiveness. My people would not be able to do it." He then came to him for a fourth time and said: "Allah has commanded you to recite the Qur'an to your people in seven *aḥruf*, and in whichever they recite, they will be right."[10]

Aḍat Banū Ghifār (the Banū Ghifār's watering place) is located near Madinah. It is attributed to the Banū Ghifār, because they lived around this tank.[11] Another version states that Jibril met the Prophet near Aḥjār al-Mirā',[12] which is located near Qubā' in the countryside around Madinah.[13]

This does not, however, mean that only that part of the Qur'an revealed after the hijrah could be recited in seven styles. This is clear from the argument between ʿUmar and Hishām over *Surat al-Furqān*, mentioned above, which was revealed in Makkah.[14] Such arguments were not acceptable, and so the Prophet ordered his Companions not to argue over such differences and became angry whenever they did. Once he said:

> Verily this Qur'an has been revealed to be recited in seven *aḥruf*. In every *ḥarf* you recite, you have done so correctly. So do not argue, since this may lead to unbelief (*kufr*).[15]

So many hadiths deal with this feature of the Qur'anic revelation that Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām (d. 224 AH/838 AC) considered them to be successive hadith (*al-aḥādīth al-mutawātirah*, or hadiths related through multiple chains of transmission).[16] Despite this, Goldziher attributes to him the opinion that these hadiths are deviant (*shādhdh*) and have no acceptable chain of transmission (*isnād*), referring to al-Balawī's *Alif Bā'*.[17] In fact, however, Abū ʿUbayd rejects only one hadith, namely, the one that states that the seven styles were revealed in seven different meanings (see page 7). The other hadiths are regarded as successive, and he interprets them as referring to seven dialects.[18] Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH/1505 AC) lists 20 Companions who narrate these hadiths.[19]

This fact is supported by another hadith, which relates that ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān asked those present at the Madinah mosque if they had ever heard the Prophet say: "The Qur'an has been revealed to be recited in seven *aḥruf*." So many people stood up and testified that they had heard this that ʿUthmān emphasized it by stating that he testified with them.[20] Therefore, since all of these styles of recitation were correct and sound, for "it has been revealed this way,"[21] the feeling was that people should not argue or favor one style over another. Accordingly, everyone should recite as he/she had been taught.

THE MEANING OF THE SEVEN STYLES OF RECITATION IN THE HADITHS

Each group of scholars tried to clarify the exact meaning of these recitation styles. This chapter discusses these views and establishes the meaning based on the available evidence. First, however, the meaning of *seven* must be discussed. Some scholars say that *seven* is not intended to be an exact number, but a symbolic term meaning a considerable number less than ten. Hence, it denotes numerousness in the single digits, just as 70 means numerousness in tens and 700 means numerousness in hundreds. For instance:

> The parable of those who spend their substance in the way of God is that of a grain of corn: It grows seven ears, and each ear has a hundred grains. God gives manifold increase to whom He pleases. (2:261)

> Whether you ask forgiveness or not [their sin is unforgivable]. Even if you ask forgiveness [for them] seventy times, God will not forgive them. (9:80)

One hadith says: "Every [good] deed the Son of Adam does will be multiplied, a good deed receiving a tenfold to seven hundredfold reward."[22] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852 AH/1448 AC) related this from ʿIyāḍ (d. 544 AH/1149 AC) and his successors.[23] However, most scholars maintain that *seven*, when used in such contexts, means the odd number *seven*, which follows the number *six* and precedes the number *eight* in arithmetic. In this respect, we can refer to the following Qur'anic verses:

> ... to it are seven gates: For each of those gates is a [special] class [of sinners] assigned. (15:44)

> [Yet others] say they were seven, the dog being the eighth. (18:22)

In fact, there is no reason to deny that *seven* is to be interpreted metaphorically instead of literally. Moreover, some hadiths actually state that it is intended to be the exact number, as in:

> ... and he recited it in other *aḥruf*, until he ultimately recited it in seven *aḥruf*.[24]

> ... then I realized it had been ended in this number.[25]

The repeated asking for more *aḥruf* between the Prophet and Jibril started from one *ḥarf* and increased to two, three, up to seven.[26] As most scholars agree that the number of acceptable styles of recitation is limited and

specifically confined to seven, we may conclude that *seven*, when mentioned in these hadiths, is the number *seven* that is known to the people. But even though the majority of scholars accept that these hadiths indicate that the Qur'an was revealed in seven styles of recitation, they nevertheless differ in explaining and identifying them and in giving examples.

THE MEANING OF *AḤRUF* IN ARABIC

Arabic lexicons list several meanings for *aḥruf*, which is the plural of *ḥarf*, as follows:

1. The extreme, verge, border, margin, brink, brow, side or edge of anything, as, for instance, the bank of a river or the side of a ship or a boat.[27] In this respect, we can refer to the saying of Ibn ʿAbbās: "People of the Book do not come to the women, except from the side (*illā ʿalā ḥarf*)."[28]

   Ḥarf occurs in the Qur'an verse with the same meaning:

   > There are among men some who serve God, as it were, on a verge: If good befalls them, they are, therewith, well content; but if a trial comes to them, they turn on their faces. They lose both this world and the Hereafter. That is loss for all to see! (22:11)

2. A letter of the alphabet, the letters being so-called because they are the extremities of the word and the syllable. *Ḥarf* also means the edge of a sword or the sharp stone edge of a mountain. A she-camel is described as *ḥarf* if she is hard and sharp like a stone edge.[29]
3. As a grammatical term, it means a particle used to express a meaning. It is neither a noun nor a verb.[30]
4. A mode, manner, or way, as, for instance, in reciting the Qur'an according to seven modes or manners of recitation, from which are derived such phrases as *fulān yaqraʾ bi ḥarf Ibn Masʿūd* (Someone recites in the manner of Ibn Masʿūd).[31]
5. A dialect, idiom, or mode of expression specific to certain Arabs. Accordingly, the hadith "*Nazal al-Qurʾān ʿala sabʿat aḥruf*" would mean: "The Qur'an was revealed in seven Arab dialects." This interpretation is attributed to Abū ʿUbayd, Abū al-ʿAbbās (d. 291 AH/903 AC), al-Azharī (d. 370 AH/980 AC), and Ibn al-Athīr (d. 606 AH/1209 AC).[32] In fact, Ibn al-Athīr considered this interpretation to be the best one.[33]

THE INTERPRETATION OF "SEVEN STYLES OF RECITATION"

As seen above, most scholars say that *seven* is really meant to be the exact number. However, they differ in interpreting the meaning of *aḥruf*, because this common word has several meanings that can be determined only by context.[34] To further complicate matters, the context of the hadiths under discussion allow multiple interpretations.[35] This early difference of opinion produced many hadiths, all of which repeat and overlap. Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354 AH/965 AC) counted 35 of them,[36] while al-Suyūṭī claimed that there were about 40, although he did not quote all of them.[37]

A comprehensive study and comparison of all the views and opinions expressed concerning these hadiths allows us to summarize and arrange them:

1. They are ambiguous and so their meaning cannot be known with certainty, because *ḥarf* has different meanings: a letter of the alphabet, a word, a meaning, or a way.

This is Ibn Sa'dān al-Naḥwī's (d. 231 AH/845 AC) view.[38] However, it has been opposed on the grounds that a common word can be known and fixed by the context. For instance, *'ayn* has more than one meaning based upon the sentence in which it occurs: *Naẓartu bi al-'ayn al-mujarradah* and *Sharibtu min 'ayn Zubaydah*. The meaning is clear and unambiguous. In the first sentence it means "eye," and in the second sentence it means "water." This is made clear by the use of *naẓartu* (I have seen) in the first sentence and *sharibtu* (I have drunk) in the second sentence.[39]

2. *Ḥarf* may mean "ways of pronunciation," which was al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad's (d. 170 AH/786 AC) view.[40]

Some scholars object to this because only a few words in the Qur'an, such as *uff*, can be read in seven ways. Even if it is argued that each word may be read in one or more ways up to seven, many words can be read in more than seven ways.[41] Most scholars, among them al-Ṭabarī (d. 310 AH/922 AC), oppose this view, and even al-Zarkashī (d. 794 AH/1391 AC) considered it to be the weakest one.[42]

However, the seven *aḥruf*, if understood in this way, must not be viewed as connected with the seven accepted styles of recitations (*qirā'āt*) that were first collected by Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324 AH/935 AC),[43] for these did not exist in the Prophet's lifetime or even in the first Islamic century. Indeed, scholars of

Qur'anic studies used to collect whatever styles of recitation they could find, and many more than the seven of Ibn Mujāhid existed. The first scholar known to have collected them in written form is Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām (d. 224 AH/838 AC), who is said to have listed 25 styles.[44]

Al-Ṭabarī wrote *Al-Jāmiʿ fī al-Qirāʾāt*, which contained more than 20 styles.[45] It no longer exists; however, he incorporated much of its material into his *Tafsīr*. Many scholars do not agree with Ibn Mujāhid's attempt to limit the number of styles to seven, out of concern that the following generation might think that they were the same as the seven *aḥruf* mentioned in the hadiths.[46] Indeed, Abū Shāmah (d. 665 AH/1267 AC), a famous scholar in the field of Qur'anic recitation, said: "No one but the ignorant thinks that these seven readings are what is meant in the hadith."

3. The seven *aḥruf* indicate seven meanings.

Those who subscribe to this opinion differ in their interpretation. For example, some say that it refers to command (*amr*) and prohibition (*nahy*), or to command and prohibition, lawful (*ḥalāl*) and unlawful (*ḥarām*), defined (*muḥkam*) and ambiguous[47] (*mutashābih*), and parables (*amthāl*).[48]

A hadith related by Hakīm (d. 405 AH/1014 AC) and al-Bayhaqī (d. 458 AH/1065 AC) favors this view: "The Qur'an has been revealed from seven doors according to seven *aḥruf*: restraining, commending, lawful, unlawful, defined, ambiguous, and parables."[49] However, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 563 AH/1070 AC) states that this hadith is weak because it is reported nowhere else.[50] Even al-Bayhaqī, who narrated it, writes that in this case seven *aḥruf* refers to the kinds of meaning in which the Qur'an was revealed, and that the other hadiths refer to dialects.[51] Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833 AH/1429 AC) refutes this by asserting that the Companions did not dispute over the verses' interpretation, but only over their recitation, as occurred between ʿUmar and Hishām and others.[52]

Finally, it is impossible to recite the Qur'an as if all of it is lawful, unlawful, or parables.[53] One can recite a verse in several ways, but not in any way that lead to any contradiction in meaning, as would be the case with lawful and unlawful.[54]

4. The seven *aḥruf* are ways of recitation using synonyms (e.g., *taʿāl, aqbil, ʿajjil, asriʿ*).

Many scholars agree with this opinion[55] and cite evidence from the hadiths referring to the Qur'an's revelation in seven *aḥruf*. Abū Bakrah states:

> Jibril came to the Prophet and said: "O Muhammad, recite the Qur'an in one *harf*," and Mikā'il said: "Ask for more," until he reached seven *aḥruf*, each effective and sufficient, "provided that you do not seal a verse of punishment with mercy or a verse of mercy with punishment, like your saying, '*ta'āl, aqbil, halumma, idhhab, asri', 'ajjil.*'"[56]

This interpretation is open to debate. First, this hadith is meant to show that the seven styles of recitation are synonymous in one meaning and, second, that they contain no contradiction (i.e., they do not seal a verse of punishment with mercy).[57] Furthermore, people cannot recite the Qur'an as they please or replace one word or letter with another, regardless of whether it changes the meaning or not.[58] One should have heard the recitation directly from the Prophet or from him through his Companions and Successors.[59] In this respect, we may refer to the above-mentioned argument between 'Umar and Hishām, where each one said: "Allah's Apostle taught it to me."[60]

Moreover, those who accept this opinion agree that permission to recite the Qur'anic text was given at the beginning of the Revelation, when most Arabs were illiterate. At a later date, the other six styles were abrogated, and so now only one style remains.[61] We can contest this interpretation, because it is still permissible to recite the Qur'an in several ways. For example, one can find synonyms in *Surat al-Ḥujurāt*, where *tatabayyanū* is also read *fatathabbattū*.[62] Thus, we cannot claim that all such variants have been abrogated or that *harf* implies such a temporary concession to make recitation easier for the first generation.[63]

5. The seven styles of recitation are seven Arab dialects.

Of course there were more than seven Arab dialects, but those who suport this view maintain that *aḥruf* should be understood as referring to the seven most eloquent Arab dialects.[64] However, scholars have never defined exactly which dialects are meant and the various versions differ greatly, although all agree on including the Qurayshī dialect.[65]

Ibn Qutaybah (d. 275 AH/888 AC) attempted to prove that the Qur'an was revealed only in the Qurayshī dialect by quoting the Qur'an itself:

> We sent not an Apostle except (to teach) in the language of his (own) people, in order to make (things) clear to them. Now God leaves straying those whom He pleases and guides whom He pleases. He is Exalted in Power, Full of Wisdom. (14:4)

In his opinion, these dialects should represent various branches of the Quraysh tribe.[66] Al-Qasṭallānī (d. 923 AH/1517 AC) maintains that the Qurayshīs were neighbors of the Kaʿbah and the preeminent Arab tribe. One of their customs was to choose the best style and words from the dialects of the tribes that came to Makkah.[67] However, this view appears to be an attempt to conflate two different ideas: that the styles of recitation were dialects and that they were all variants of Qurayshī Arabic. In this respect, ʿUthmān said: "The Qur'an has been revealed in the language of the Quraysh."[68] But this can mean no more than the fact the Qur'an is mainly in the Qurayshī dialect, for it contains features from other dialects, such as the retention of *hamzah*, which generally disappears in the Ḥijāzī dialect.[69]

Many accounts indicate that the Qur'an was not revealed solely in the Qurayshī dialect, for it contains words and phrases from other Arab dialects, according to the most fluent and concise forms of expression. For instance, Ibn ʿAbbās did not understand *faṭar* until he heard two bedouins use it while talking about digging a well.[70] It might be reasonable to assume that the Qur'an was initially revealed in the dialect of the Quraysh tribe and its neighbors, and that later on the other Arab tribes were permitted to recite it in their own dialects, regardless of how much it differed from the Qurayshī dialect. Thus they were not told to abandon their dialects in favor of that of the Quraysh, for it would have been hard for them to have done so and because they tried to cling strongly to their dialects. Above all, this permission facilitated the recitation and understanding of the Qur'an.[71]

However, no person was allowed to replace any word in the Qur'an by a synonym in his/her own dialect; everyone had to be taught the word directly from the Prophet.[72] On the other hand, there are no objections to the idea of the Qur'an being reveled in seven dialects, for ʿUmar and Hishām, both of whom were Qurayshīs, differed in their recitation. It does not seem reasonable to accept disagreement between two people who spoke the same dialect, unless that difference referred to something else.[73]

In his *Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān*, al-Rāfiʿī adopts this view of interpreting the seven styles of recitation as seven Arab dialects. In his opinion, however, *seven* is a symbolic term meaning a considerable number: "These seven *aḥruf* mean the dialects of the Arabs to make it easy for each tribe to recite the Qur'an in its own way as it was used to in its dialect." He claimed that Arabs understood *ḥarf* as "dialect," but that after Islam came, they began to use it to mean "methods of recitation," as, for instance, in "*Hādhā fī ḥarf Ibn Masʿūd*" ("This is according to Ibn Masʿūd's style of recitation.").[74]

6. The seven styles of recitation indicate the seven varieties and differences found in the styles of recitation.

The first scholar to suggest this was Ibn Qutaybah, who was followed by the subsequent generation with little or no modification. He studied these differences and determined that they were the following seven:

1. A difference in the word's diacritical markings (*iʿrāb*) and vocalization (*iʾjām*) that does not alter its consonantal outline in the orthography or its meaning (e.g., *hunna aṭharu / hunna aṭhara*).[75]
2. A difference in the word's diacritical markings and vocalization that alters its meaning but not its consonantal outline (e.g., *rabbanā bāʿid / rabbunā bāʿadā*).[76]
3. A difference in the word's recitation (but not in its diacritical markings) that alters its meaning but does not change its consonantal outline (e.g., *nunshizuhā / nanshuruhā*).[77]
4. A difference in the word that changes its consonantal outline in the orthography but not its meaning (e.g., *kānat illā ṣayḥatan / zaqyatan*).[78]
5. A difference in the word that changes both its consonantal outline and its meaning (e.g., *wa ṭalḥin mandūd / wa ṭalʿin naḍīd*).[79]
6. A difference in word order (e.g., *wa jāʾat sakratu al-mawti bi al-ḥaqqi / sakratu al-ḥaqqi bi al-mawti*).[80]
7. A difference in letters or augment (e.g., *wa mā ʿamilathu / wa mā ʿamilat*).[81]

Ibn al-Jazarī agrees with Ibn Qutaybah's explanation, except that he identifies these styles more clearly and gives examples. Abū al-Faḍl al-Rāzī (d. 630 AH/1232 AC) follows Ibn Qutaybah's approach, but arranges the differences in a different order. For instance, his first and second types are included in the fifth type of Ibn Qutaybah and Ibn al-Jazarī, while his third type covers the first and second types of the other two. Al-Rāzī's sixth type agrees with the fifth type of the others, and his seventh might be included in the first type of Ibn Qutaybah and Ibn al-Jazarī. Al-Rāzī's third type agrees with the fifth type of the others, and his seventh type might be included in the first type of Ibn Qutaybah and Ibn al-Jazarī. However, al-Rāzī's last suggestion should not be dismissed, since here he refers to a difference in dialect concerned with the absence or presence of such linguistic features as *imālah* (bending the sound of

a short vowel), *tafkhīm* (the process of making a sound strong so that it is resonant), and *hamzah* (giving a letter a *hamzah*). Some scholars consider such differences no more than questions of different pronunciations.[82]

This is an overview of their different opinions. The vast majority of them, nevertheless, agree in their general approach. For instance, Makkī ibn Abū Ṭālib mentions that some scholars adopted a view similar to Ibn Qutaybah's, but he only explains their interpretation.[83] Ibn Qutaybah,[84] Ibn al-Jazarī,[85] al-Rāzī,[86] Makkī ibn Ṭālib al-Qaysī (d. 437 AH/1045 AC),[87] the author of *Kitāb al-Mabānī fī Naẓm al-Maʿānī*,[88] and Ibn al-Bāqillānī (d. 403 AH/1012 AC)[89] accept this view.

Al-Khūʾī, author of *Al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*,[90] rejects all of the hadiths on the Qur'an's revelation in seven styles of recitation because they were not narrated through the accepted chains of transmission (sing. *isnād*; pl. *asānīd*) of the *Ahl al-Bayt* (viz., Prophet Muhammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn), upon which his Shīʿī methodology is based. He states that after the Prophet, reference in religious affairs should be made only to the Qur'an and the *Ahl al-Bayt*, whom Allah Almighty has purified. Hence, as no versions are valid if they differ from what is correct (in their view), there is no need to consider their chains of transmission, for all of these hadiths are, by default, inauthentic.[91]

Al-Khūʾī also claims that these versions contain contradictions. For instance, one hadith states that permission to recite the Qur'an was given all at once. In one version, Ubayy entered the mosque and saw a man reciting in a different way. But according to another version, he was in the mosque when two men came in and recited in two different styles.[92] Finally, Al-Khūʾī says that the reply given in Ibn Masʿūd's version is not related to the question, for Ibn Masʿūd differed with another person as to whether a certain surah should be considered as having 35 or 36 verses. ʿAlī was beside the Prophet and said: "The Messenger of Allah commands you to recite as you have been taught."[93] All in all, in Al-Khūʾī's opinion, there is no reason why the Qur'an should have been revealed in seven styles of recitation, and so such a claim is not understandable.[94]

However, this view has no firm basis. First, non-Shīʿī scholars do not agree that the *Ahl al-Bayt* are the only references for the Sharīʿah and that the narrations of the *Ahl al-Sunnah* (including Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān) are invented. Al-Khūʾī's approach would rule out, *a priori*, all discussions of the seven styles. Moreover, from an objective academic point of view, there is no justification for invalidating of all of the *Ahl al-Sunnah's* hadiths, for the Qur'an clearly states:

> O humanity. We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know each other [not that you may despise each other]. Verily the most honored of you in the sight of God is [the one who is] the most righteous of you. (49:13)

In any case, the differences between the versions, as regards their letters or words, do not affect the hadith's truth. Moreover, no contradiction can refute an authentic hadith.

Al-Khū'ī contradicts himself when he says: "Hence we find that the narrators differ in some words of al-Mutanabbī's poems, but this difference does not invalidate the existence of the poem (*qaṣīdah*) or its successive transmission (*tawātur*)." In the same way, the differences between the narrators who relate the details of the Prophet's hijrah do not contradict the hijrah itself or its successive transmission.[95] If this is so, why should this principle not be applied to the question of the seven styles of recitation?

As for the objection that there is no relation between the question and the answer in ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd's hadith, this can be answered quite simply: The Companions were learning the recitation and counting the verses, because the Prophet would pause at the end of each verse.[96] This was part of the process of teaching: They studied no more than ten verses at a time to perfect their recitation and practice it in their daily life.[97]

Naturally, having rejected the Qur'an's revelation in seven styles of recitation, al-Khū'ī does not accept the hadith's interpretation; rather, he uses opposing arguments to discredit them all. Despite this, surprisingly, he mentions that he views al-Rāfiʿī's opinion as being the closest one to the truth. And yet he ultimately rejects it because al-Rāfiʿī interpreted *seven* as a symbolic term.[98] He also reduces Ibn Qutaybah's views to six, claiming that there is a seventh way of reciting, one upon which all scholars agree but that Ibn Qutaybah does not take into account. As a result, his seven interpretations of difference are, in fact, eight.[99] Thus, he not only rejects Ibn Qutaybah's premises, but wishes to show that his arguments are, in any case, fallacious.

Contrary to Al-Khū'ī's claim, however, the hadiths have a perfectly feasible value: to facilitate recitation and make it easier for the Muslims to understand.[100] The scholars' different interpretations of them in no way affects their authenticity.[101] Moreover, Abū ʿAbd Allah al-Zinjani, a fellow Shīʿī scholar, quotes the hadith narrated by ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, along with many others, in his *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*.[102] He chooses al-Ṭabarī's interpretation as the best one, namely, referring to the seven styles of recitation

using synonyms.[103] Later on, he mentions that it might be possible to interpret it as referring to the differences in reciting the Qur'an (e.g., *imālah, ishmām,* and *idghām*) as narrated by the seven *qurrā'* (Qur'anic scholars/reciters).[104] In his *Tafsīr,* al-Zinjani attributes this view to al-Shahrastānī.[105]

In conclusion, a great deal of evidence supports and witnesses that the Qur'an was revealed in seven styles of recitation:

1. Many authentic and sound hadiths indicate that this is the case.[106]
2. The Companions' discussions and disputes about differences in recitation during the lifetime of the Prophet, who taught them to recite in various ways.[107]
3. The disputes among the Successors during the time of the Rightly Guided caliphs, particularly that of ʿUthmān.[108]
4. The many examples of different recitations found in the books of Hadith, among them those of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, and al-Tirmidhī.[109] Moreover, Qur'anic commentaries (sing. *tafsīr;* pl. *tafāsīr*) like that of al-Ṭabarī[110] and books on the history of recitation (*qirā'āt*) and the copies (*maṣāḥif*) of the ʿUthmānic writ, like that of Ibn Abū Dāwūd,[111] include many different narrations (*riwāyāt*) concerning the Qur'an's recitation.[112]
5. The *qurrā'*, who recited the Qur'an in different ways, continuously and throughout the succeeding generations memorized and taught their students and followers according to the rules of narrations and authentic chains of transmission.

The following chapters will study these styles of recitation and the conditions governing them, attempt to discover whether any are not based on ʿUthmān's official copy (*muṣḥaf*), and whether, in this case, they may be derived from the styles of recitation.

In conclusion, we may say that the scholars agree unanimously that the Qur'an was revealed in seven different styles of recitation to facilitate its recitation. Apparently, this permission was given after the hijrah, when various Arab tribes embraced Islam and found it hard to abandon their own dialects immediately. Those who deny the relevant hadiths' authenticity seem to have no objective basis for doing so. Finally, although scholars disagree over the these styles' exact meaning, the most natural interpretation is that they refer to linguistic variations in the manner of reciting the Qur'an. However, it is hard to commit to any of the scholars' specific definitions.

CHAPTER 2

Compiling the Qur'an

The Prophet told his scribes to immediately write down whatever verses or surahs were revealed on any available material.[1] He would then place them in their correct order in the Qur'an.[2] Many accounts support these statements, as well as the one that the collection was kept in a safe place.[3]

Many scribes were involved in this undertaking. Some were known as *Kātib al-Wahy* ([permanent] Scribes of the Revelation), while others were normally engaged in other secretarial duties and only occasionally wrote down the Revelation.[4] There were many scribes in the first category, and even more in the second.[5] Certain scholars tried to determine just how many scribes there were. Ibn Kathīr counts 22[6]; recently, we find the number increased to 33[7] or to about sixty.[8] The most famous scribes are ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ubayy ibn Kaʿb, and Zayd ibn Thābit,[9] who is known as *Kātib al-Nabiyy* or *Kātib al-Wahy*.[10]

To ensure that the Qur'an would not be confused with his own words, the Prophet ordered his Companions to write down nothing but the Qur'an and told those who might have written something else to destroy it.[11] As a result, the entire Revelation is said to have been gradually secured, kept in a written form, and stored in the Prophet's house.[12]

The Prophet allowed several Companions to have their own manuscripts (collections of fragments) in addition to memorizing the Qur'an.[13] The most famous of these people, who are said to have taught many others, were ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ubayy ibn Kaʿb, Abū al-Dardāʾ, Zayd ibn Thābit, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī,[14] Sālim (the *mawlā* [client] of Abū Ḥudhayfah), and Muʿādh ibn Jabal.[15]

Thus, the Qur'an was memorized by many Companions and written down in the same order that we know today.[16] Although recorded in its entirety on all possible materials, it was not written in book form (*muṣḥaf*) until after the Prophet died. Even before it assumed its present form, how-

ever, it was known as *al-Kitāb* (The Book): "This is the Book without doubt. In it is sure guidance for those who fear God" (Qur'an 2:2). The Prophet also said before his death: "I have left among you Muslims that which, if you stick to it, will not let you be misguided – the Book of Allah."[17]

Al-Baghawī explains that these records were not compiled in official book form while the Prophet was alive because some of its verses were abrogated during its revelation. When there was no more abrogation and the Revelation was finalized, the formal compilation began.[18] Burton argues against this view, for he rejects the two modes of abrogating a recitation (*mansūkh al-tilāwah*).[19] However, a stronger argument in its favor is that it would be pointless to compile the Qur'an into a bound book until the process of revelation had been completed.

THE COMPILATIONS OF ABŪ BAKR AND 'UTHMĀN

The Companions and their Successors, all of whom relied on memorizing the Qur'an, taught the Qur'an to the young and newly converted Muslims by requiring them to memorize it. In addition, they had their personal manuscripts.

The Qur'an remained uncompiled until 12 AH/633 AC, when 70 *ḥuffāẓ* (people who had memorized the Qur'an) were killed while fighting the self-proclaimed prophet Musaylimah in Yamāmah.[20] Earlier, 40 (possibly 70) of them had been killed in the Battle of Bi'r Ma'ūnah.[21] 'Umar suggested to Abū Bakr that he compile the Qur'an in a single official book so that none of it would be lost if due to destruction or large-scale death among the *ḥuffāẓ*. Abū Bakr considered this carefully and, after some hesitation, entrusted Zayd ibn Thābit with this task. Zayd was a natural choice, for he was "the well-known Scribe of the Revelation" (*Kātib al-Waḥy al-Mashhūr*); a *ḥāfiẓ* who had checked the text with the Prophet after he had recited it to Jibrīl for the last time; was young, knowledgeable, wise, and reliable; and was skilled at writing the Qur'an.[22]

However, Zayd was afraid to accept this appointment, for he felt that he could not do something that the Prophet had not asked him to do. After Abū Bakr finally persuaded him, he began to compare the Prophet's record with the memorized and written versions of those *ḥuffāẓ* who were in Madīnah. He then wrote out the entire text in book form and presented it to Abū Bakr, who received it and kept it in his custody.[23] This document remained with Abū Bakr until his death, after which it passed to 'Umar and, upon his death, to his daughter Ḥafṣah, who, in addition to being one of the

Prophet's wives, was also the executor of her father's estate and a *ḥāfiẓah*. It was entrusted to her because ʿUmar died before ʿUthmān became the third caliph.[24]

At this time, the *qurrāʾ* (reciters of the Qur'an) began to argue over how the Qur'an should be recited, for some of the Companions and the Successors, who had been sent to the newly conquered lands to teach the people, were reciting it in different ways. In addition, the Companions were reciting the Qur'an in the seven acceptable styles.

By the time of ʿUthmān, these disputes had become so heated that the *qurrāʾ* were accusing each other of unbelief (*kufr*). Many people urged ʿUthmān to take action to avert intra-Muslim fighting and division. Such disputes occurred in many places: Madinah,[25] Kufah, Basrah, Shām (Damascus), and the military camps (*ajnād*). After witnessing these disputes while serving in the battle zones of Armenia and Azerbaijan, Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān hastened to Madinah to ask ʿUthmān to promulgate a unified recitation: "O Chief of the Believers! Save this Ummah before its members differ about the Book, as the Jews and the Christians did before."[26]

ʿUthmān consulted the *Muhājirūn* (the Makkan Muslims who migrated with the Prophet to Madinah) and the *Anṣār* (the Muslims of Madinah who accepted them into their midst), all of whom encouraged him to undertake this action.[27] Thus, he told Ḥafṣah to "send us the manuscript of the Qur'an so that we may compile the Qur'anic materials in perfect copies and return the manuscript to you." Ḥafṣah did so, and ʿUthmān told Zayd, ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥārith ibn Hishām to make copies. He told these Qurayshīs: "If you disagree with Zayd ibn Thābit on any point in the Qur'an, write it in the dialect (*lisān*) of the Quraysh, as the Qur'an was revealed in their tongue."[28] After they had made many copies, ʿUthmān returned the original to Ḥafṣah,[29] sent a copy to every Muslim region, and ordered all other Qur'anic materials, whether whole or fragmentary manuscripts, to be burned.[30]

The Companions, learned men, and leading figures, including ʿAlī, all approved of this action. ʿAlī confronted those who rebelled and told them that ʿUthmān burned only the copies that varied from the final revelation, kept that which was agreed upon,[31] proceeded only after consulting the Companions and obtaining their unanimous consent, and that he would have done the same thing if he had been in ʿUthmān's position.[32]

In general, the Muslims admired ʿUthmān's action and agreed to it unanimously (with the exception of Ibn Masʿūd), because ʿUthmān united

the material into its official book form, cleansed it from any abrogated material, isolated (*āḥād*) reports, and any interpretation that had added to the text (and could have been mistaken for part of the Revelation).[33]

HOW THE QUR'AN WAS COMPILED

We can assume that the scribes ensured the Qur'anic texts' authenticity by comparing it with the memorized version to confirm that all of the transcribed verses and surahs exactly matched the final Revelation, that the text agreed with how the Prophet had recited it in the final revelation, and that it contained no abrogated verses (i.e., *Surat al-Jumu'ah* [62:9], where *fas'aw* is sometimes said to be read *fāmḍū*. *Fas'aw* is the authentic word, for *fāmḍū* was abrogated in the final Revelation).[34]

Thus, the people agreed unanimously with 'Uthmān, for his compilation agreed with that of Abū Bakr. A sound hadith (*riwāyah ṣaḥīḥah*) states that the recitations of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Zayd ibn Thābit, the *Muhājirūn*, and the *Anṣār* were the same, and that they had been taught this common style of recitation after the final Revelation. The Prophet read the Qur'an with Jibril once during every Ramadan and twice in the year of his death. Zayd attested to this final revelation, recited it with the Prophet, and wrote it down for him. Hence, it was known as Zayd's recitation, because he wrote it for and read it to the Prophet, and then taught it to his students. For this reason, he was also put in charge of the first and second compilations.[35]

According to Bukhārī,[36] four scribes took part in this compilation. Ibn Abū Dāwūd (d. 316 AH/928 AC) narrates on Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn's (d. 110 AH/729 AC) authority that there were 12 such scribes, all of whom were from the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*, and that Ubayy ibn Ka'b was one of them. Ibn Sīrīn adds: "Kuthayyir ibn Aflaḥ told me – and he was one of the scribes – that when they differed in writing something, they used to postpone writing it. I think that this postponing was to make sure that it corresponded to the final revealed version."[37] Other sources say that there were only two scribes of this revelation, Zayd and Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ, for Zayd was the best in writing and Sa'īd was more eloquent in pronunciation.[38]

Those who say that there were 12 scribes include scribes who dictated and others who wrote, but do not mention all of their names. Al-'Asqalānī found that Ibn Abū Dāwūd mentions nine and then lists their names[39]: Mālik ibn Abū 'Āmir (Mālik ibn Anas' grandfather), Kuthayyir ibn Aflaḥ, Ubayy ibn Ka'b, Anas ibn Mālik, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās, and the four mentioned in *Bukhārī*.[40] Ibn Abū Dāwūd reports 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's com-

mand: "No one should dictate in our *maṣāḥif* except those who belonged to Quraysh and Thaqīf."[41]

Al-ʿAsqalānī argues that since all of the scribes were from the Quraysh or the *Anṣār*, there were no scribes from the Thaqīf.[42] He tries to evaluate these views and suggests that at the beginning of the compilation, Zayd and Saʿīd were the sole scribes, but that other scribes were added when help was needed to write out more copies.[43]

Ibn Masʿūd, who reportedly felt ignored or insulted when he was not asked to join this committee, said that the Prophet had taught him 70 surahs while Zayd was still a young boy playing with children.[44] As a result, he refused to surrender his personal copy to ʿUthmān and told his students to do the same. Ibn Abū Dāwūd states, however, that Ibn Masʿūd reconsidered and eventually obeyed ʿUthmān.[45]

Al-ʿAsqalānī reveals why Ibn Masʿūd was not included: Ibn Masʿūd was in Kufah when ʿUthmān appointed the committee. Furthermore, ʿUthmān only reproduced the pages compiled under Abū Bakr into one book. In the times of Abū Bakr and ʿUthmān, Zayd had the privilege of being the scribe in charge of the compilation process.[46]

THE MATERIALS USED TO RECORD THE QUR'AN

During the Prophet's lifetime, the various parts of the Revelation were recorded on palm stalks (*ʿusub*), thin white stones (*likhāf*), boards (*alwāḥ*), scapula bones (*aktāf*), saddles (*aqtāb*), leather (*adīm*), pieces of cloth (*riqāʿ*),[47] potshards (*khazaf*), shells (*ṣadaf*),[48] ribs (*adlāʿ*),[49] and parchment (*raqq*).[50] Abū Bakr had it compiled on different materials. Al-ʿAsqalānī states that Abū Bakr was the first one to compile it on paper[51] and in one book. He cites a report attributed to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124 AH/741 AC)[52] to support his opinion, and refutes the view that Zayd wrote it for Abū Bakr on leather and palm leaf stalks and then rewrote it on paper for ʿUmar.[53] He asserts that the Qur'an was written on leather and palm leaf stalks before Abū Bakr's reign, and that it was rewritten on parchment during ʿUmar's reign.[54]

A modern source argues that the oldest copy of the Qur'an is the one found in Egypt's ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ Mosque. It is written on parchment, probably the best medium for such an important document that is intended to have a long life.[55] Although papyrus was available in Egypt, which is close to Arabia, none of the old copies that exist today were written upon it.[56] Paper was not known in the Islamic world before 134 AH/751 AC.[57]

SENDING THE COPIES TO THE CITIES/PROVINCES

The number of copies sent to the cities/provnces is not specified in the old sources. However, al-Bukhārī, on the authority of Anas ibn Mālik, says: "'Uthmān sent a copy of what they had copied to every Muslim province" (*ilā kull ufuq min āfāq al-Muslimīn*).[58] Ibn Abū Dāwūd states: "'Uthmān sent a copy to every Muslim battlefield"[59] and "distributed copies to the people."[60]

Many primary or secondary sources do not mention the exact number of copies sent. Later on, reference is made to four copies, with or without mentioning where they were sent. Those sources that mention the number of copies depended upon where they were sent. Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī (d. 96 AH/714 AC) supports the view that 'Uthmān sent four copies.[61] Ḥamzah, one of the seven canonical reciters, states that his copy was copied from the one sent to Kufah, which itself was one of the four copies sent.[62] Abū 'Amr al-Dānī (d. 444 AH/1052 AC) states that four copies existed, three of which were sent to Kufah, Basrah, and Makkah, while the fourth was kept by 'Uthmān in Madinah. He adds that most scholars hold this opinion.[63] Al-'Asqalānī agrees with the famous saying that there were five copies.[64]

Ibn al-Bāqillānī mentions five copies, one each for Kufah, Basrah, Yemen, and Bahrain, and the final one for 'Uthmān's personal use.[65] Al-Qasṭallānī agrees with al-'Asqalānī,[66] and Ibn 'Āshir argues that five copies were sent to Makkah, Damascus (Shām), Basrah, Kufah, and Madinah, while 'Uthmān kept a sixth one, the *muṣḥaf al-imām*, for himself.[67] Al-Zurqani, after analyzing the evidence for the existence of five or six copies, suggests that those scholars who say that there are five do not count 'Uthmān's personal copy. Therefore, he maintains that there were six copies.[68]

Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (d. 250 AH/864 AC) states: "'Uthmān sent seven *maṣāḥif*, keeping one in Madinah and distributing the rest to Makkah, Damascus, Yemen, Bahrain, Basrah, and Kufah."[69] Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571 AH/1175 AC)[70] and Ibn Kathīr (d. 774 AH/1372 AC) agree with him,[71] even though the latter substitutes Egypt for Bahrain. In *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, he gives the list quoted above; however, later on in his *Al-Bidāyah*, he replaces Bahrain with Egypt.

Al-Rāfi'ī, in his *Tārīkh Ādāb al-'Arab*,[72] supports this view and chooses the names Ibn Kathīr suggested in his *Al-Bidāyah*. Ibn al-Jazarī opts for the number mentioned by Abū Ḥātim, but adds that 'Uthmān retained an eighth copy (the *muṣḥaf al-imām*).[73] Finally, al-Ya'qūbī (284 AH/897 AC) counts nine copies, adding Egypt and al-Jazīrah to Abū Ḥātim's list.[74]

In conclusion, the most reliable evidence suggests that there were six copies, for all of the scholarly works on this topic refer repeatedly to the copies of Madinah, Makkah, Damascus, Kufah, Basrah, and the *muṣḥaf al-imām* - and never to any other copies.[75] Moreover, ʿUthmān is said to have entrusted five *qurrāʾ* with the copies. He appointed Zayd ibn Thābit to teach the people of Madinah, and sent ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Sāʾib to Makkah, al-Mughīrah ibn Shihāb to Shām, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī to Kufah, and ʿAmir ibn ʿAbd al-Qays to Basrah.[76] The students and followers of the *qurrāʾ* taught the following generations just as they had been taught.[77] Thus, there seems to be no place for Egypt, Bahrain, Yemen, or al-Jazīrah, since no evidence points to them. The assumption that there were seven or more copies is even less likely.

The earliest reports, none of which mention a specific number, can be interpreted as attesting to five, since these cities were the sites of ongoing textual disputes. The addition of a sixth copy may be credible, for ʿUthmān was reading his personal copy when he was assassinated.[78] Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām quotes from this *muṣḥaf al-imām* and mentions that he has seen it.[79] Ibn al-Jazarī also is reported to have seen it.[80] Moreover, the copy sent to Madinah differs from ʿUthmān's. Al-Shāṭibī states that Nāfiʿ quoted the first copy, while Abū ʿUbayd quoted the second.[81]

DATING ʿUTHMĀN'S COMPILATION

None of the hadiths related to ʿUthmān's compilation of the Qur'an suggests that this was done before Ḥudhayfah had gone to Madinah to inform him of the disputes among the *qurrāʾ* in the battle zone of Armenia.[82]

Al-Ṭabarī, the first one to suggest a fixed date, mentions 24 AH/644 AC.[83] Al-ʿAsqalānī agrees and tries to support this date through other reports: "This event took place in 25 AH/645 AC, in the third or second year of ʿUthmān's reign."[84] He quotes Ibn Abū Dāwūd, on Muṣʿab ibn Saʿd ibn Abū Waqqāṣ's authority, as saying: "'Uthmān preached and said: 'O People, only 15 years have elapsed since the Prophet passed away, and [already] you differ in reciting the Qur'an.'"[85]

Al-ʿAsqalānī argues that ʿUthmān became caliph at the end of Dhu al-Hijjah 23 AH/643 AC (i.e., 12 years and 9 months after the Prophet's death), and that if this is so, the compilation must have taken place 2 years and 3 months later. He adds that another version mentions 13 years instead of 15 years.[86] After comparing the two views, he concludes that the event took place one year after ʿUthmān's installation: the end of 24 AH/644 AC or the beginning of 25 AH/645 AC.[87] However, the authenticity of both versions

quoted by al-ʿAsqalānī has been questioned.[88] Indeed, if they were sound, the scholars would have accepted his opinion unanimously and no other suggestions would have been proferred.

Al-ʿAsqalānī also says: "Some of our contemporaries claim that the event took place in 30 AH/650 AC." However, he quotes no references and gives no evidence.[89] His source is Ibn al-Jazarī, who fixed this year in his *Al-Nashr fī al-Qirāʾāt al-ʿĀshr* (1:7). In fact Ibn al-Athīr, who preceded Ibn al-Jazarī, mentions the same date but gives no reference to support his view.[90] Some scholars affirm this opinion,[91] while others mention both dates without opting for either of them.[92]

Some Western scholars, using the supposed date of Armenia's conquest, claim that the Qur'an was compiled in 33 AH/653 AC.[93] One fact, however, contradicts this: Ibn Masʿūd, who kept his personal copy and told his students to do so,[94] is said to have died at the end of 32 AH/652 AC[95] or in 33 AH/653 AC.[96] The following scholars agree that Ibn Masʿūd died at Madinah in 32 AH/652 AC: al-Ṭabarī,[97] al-Balādhurī (d. 279 AH/892 AC),[98] al-ʿĀmirī,[99] Ibn Qutaybah,[100] al-Dhahabī,[101] and Ibn ʿAbd al-Bārr.[102] If this date is correct, the compilation would have taken place earlier.

This compilation has been connected with Armenia's conquest, in which Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān participated, and yet the narrations differ in dating the event. In fact, many such campaigns were directed toward Armenia, and Ḥudhayfah participated in three of them.[103] The first date mentioned, as narrated by Abū Mikhnaf, is 24 AH/644 AC.[104] Al-Ṭabarī states that Ḥudhayfah was sent to al-Bāb (Darband) in 30 AH/650 AC to help ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Rabīʿah.[105] This scholar, who mentions some small details, says nothing about the copy. However, Ibn al-Athīr states that when Ḥudhayfah returned, he told ʿUthmān what he had seen in the battlefield among the *qurrāʾ*. Thus, ʿUthmān consulted the Companions, who agreed that the Qur'an should be compiled.[106] Two years later (32 AH/650 AC), Ḥudhayfah was in that region, leading the Kufans.[107]

In conclusion, Abū Mikhnaf's narration does not seem to be authentic. Although al-Balādhurī quotes it on one occasion, in his opinion it is not the best one. The other versions that he gives suggest no fixed date,[108] although they correspond with the campaign's events of 30 AH/650 AC, as mentioned in other sources.[109] Leaving aside the issues raised by Ibn Masʿūd's death in 32 AH/652 AC, it is reasonable to assume the compilation took place in 30 AH/650 AC, as suggested by Ibn al-Athīr,[110] supported by Ibn al-Jazarī,[111] and followed by some other scholars.[112]

THE VALIDITY OF ABŪ BAKR'S COMPILATION

Some scholars, citing an account given by Ibn Sa'd (d. 230 AH/844 AC), argue that 'Umar was the first one to compile the Qur'an.[113] It is also reported that 'Umar, after asking about a certain verse and being informed that it had been preserved in the memory of a man who had been killed on the Day of Yamāmah, ordered the Qur'an to be compiled.[114] He asked everyone who had learned anything from the Prophet to bring it, and accepted only that to which two witnesses would testify.[115] Other scholars argue that if Abū Bakr had participated in the compilation, it would have become the state's official copy, which it was not. (If it were, it would not have been transferred to Ḥafṣah, 'Umar's daughter, but would have passed into 'Uthmān's custody).[116]

In addition, Abū Bakr supposedly died within 15 months of the Battle of Yamāmah. Such a great task, it is argued, could not have been finished so quicky. Moreover, not enough of the leading *qurrā'* were killed on this occasion to arouse anyone's concern that some parts of the Qur'an might have been lost.[117] Furthermore, as discussed above, the Qur'an was written down during the Prophet's lifetime.[118]

However, it could be said that 'Umar's role was to suggest that Abū Bakr order the Qur'an's compilation into one book and then help him. According to the hadith discussed above, he persuaded both Abū Bakr and Zayd ibn Thābit and then supervised this undertaking. Upon its completion, it was entrusted to him when he became caliph and remained with him until his death, when it was transferred to his daughter Ḥafṣah, the executor of his estate. This does not mean that it was his personal copy, because he died before 'Uthmān's selection as the next caliph.

This time frame is quite reasonable, especially if we take into account Zayd's experience in this field. He not only recorded the Revelation for the Prophet, but many people helped him, including those Companions who had memorized the Qur'an.[119] Furthermore, the lists of *qurrā'* killed at the Battle of Yamāmah include many learned men, such as Sālim (the *mawlā* of Abū Ḥudhayfah), Thābit ibn Qays, Ibn al-Shammās, Zayd ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Abū Dujanah Simāk ibn Kharshah, and many others.[120] Ibn Kathīr counted over 50 of them.[121]

Even if the number were not so great, there was still a fear of losing more learned *qurrā'*, since they would inevitably die in future battles. Moreover, there was always the danger that the younger *qurrā'* might fail to preserve some part of the Revelation. Even though the Qur'an existed in

written form during the Prophet's lifetime, this would not have allayed such fears, for it had not yet been gathered together in book form.[122]

Finally, the narrations (*riwāyāt*) of Ibn Sa'd[123] and al-Suyūṭī[124] do not contradict that of al-Bukhārī,[125] who attributes the compilation to Abū Bakr, if we consider that 'Umar suggested it to Abū Bakr, helped Zayd, and supervised the compilation.[126]

DATING ABŪ BAKR'S COMPILATION

Abū Bakr compiled the Qur'an after the Battle of Yamāmah,[127] which is said to have occurred in 11 AH/632 AC.[128] Ibn Kathīr quotes Ibn Qāni' as saying that it took place at the end of that year,[129] thereby agreeing with Ibn Ḥazm, who states that the conquest of Yamāmah occurred 7 months and 6 days after Abū Bakr became caliph.[130] Other scholars, whom Ibn Kathīr says were a group of biographers and chroniclers,[131] mention that it occurred in 12 AH/633 AC. He tries to reconcile these opinions by suggesting that the conquest began in 11 AH/632 AC and ended the following year,[132] but finally opts for the latter date, since it is the most widely accepted.[133] Based on the above discussion, it is difficult to accept the argument of researchers who doubt that Abū Bakr compiled the Qur'an on the grounds that the exact date of this battle is disputed.[134]

THE NUMBER OF *QURRĀ'* SLAIN

An estimated 600[135] to 700 Muslims were slain at Yamāmah.[136] Al-Ṭabarī states that among them were over 300 *Muhājirūn* and *Anṣār*,[137] while Ibn Kathīr quotes Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ (d. 240 AH/854 AC) as saying that 450 Muslims were slain, among them 50 *Muhājirūn* and *Anṣār*.[138] Some scholars assert that all of the 700 soldiers slain were *qurrā'*, while others consider the number 70 to be correct.[139] In any case, a considerable number of *qurrā'* died. As 'Umar said: "Casualties were heavy among the *qurrā'* on the day of the Battle of Yamāmah."[140]

Before leaving this subject, we should consider Burton's view that neither compilation actually took place.[141] He says that neither event is logically necessary to account for the present-day copy of the Qur'an. However, to maintain this theory in practice means to deny the validity of so many accounts to the contrary that his view is surely untenable. In addition, the account given here, which is based on a consideration of the sources, provides a logical and inherently reasonable account of a historical process.

ARRANGING THE SURAHS

The Qur'an's surahs are not arranged in chornological order. For instance, the second surah (*Surat al-Baqarah*) was revealed in Madinah after the hijrah, while the ninety-sixth surah (*Surat al-ʿAlaq*) was the first surah revealed in Makkah.[142] If their arrangement were chronological, *Surat al-ʿAlaq* would have been the first surah in the copy. Also, some verses revealed in Madinah were placed in Makkan surahs.[143] However, all scholars agree that the verses were arranged and ordered according to the Revelation (*tawqīf*).[144]

But not all of them agree as to whether the surahs were arranged in a fixed order according to the Revelation or via the Companions' endeavor (ijtihad). Some scholars argue for the second view because of the different arrangements found in the Companions' personal copies. For example, ʿAlī arranged his chronologically while Ibn Masʿūd began his with *Surat al-Baqarah*, followed by *Surat al-Nisā'* and *Surat Āl ʿImrān*.[145]

Others say that such ijtihad was limited, by which they mean that the Qur'an was divided into four categories according to the surahs' length (i.e., *al-ṭiwāl* [the seven lengthy surahs], *al-ma'īn*, *al-mathānī* [the oft-repeated verses], and *al-mufaṣṣal* [from *Surat Qāf* to the end of the Qur'an]).[146] In their opinion, ijtihad was used only to arrange each category's surahs. All scholars agree on the order and contents of these four categories.[147] Others opine that all surahs were arranged according to the Revelation, except for the seventh and the ninth ones, based upon the following hadith:

> ʿUthmān was asked why *Surat al-Tawbah* is put after *Surat al-Anfāl*, and why there is no *basmalah* between them. He replied that it was because their theme is one, and because the Prophet passed away without informing them where to put the *basmalah*.[148]

This opinion has been refuted on the grounds that a great deal of evidence indicates that all surahs were arranged according to the revelation. The books of *sunan* make the following points:

1. A delegation once visited the Prophet in Madinah. Abū Aws, one of its members, reported that the Prophet said: "I did not want to come without completing the parts of the Qur'an that I recite daily." They asked the Companions: "How do you divide the Qur'an for the recitation?" They replied: "We divide it into three surahs, five surahs, seven surahs, nine surahs, eleven surahs, thirteen surahs, and the part of *al-Mufaṣṣal* from *Surat al-Qāf* to the end."[149]

2. Zayd ibn Thābit said: "We were compiling and arranging the Qur'an from the fragments, in front of Allah's Apostle."[150]
3. The *basmalah* was a sign that the surah had been completed. Ibn 'Abbās stated that the Prophet did not know when this happened until the revelation came to him with "In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful."[151]

Al-Nīsābūrī (d. 828 AH/1424 AC) reports in his *Tafsīr* that whenever the Prophet received a surah, he asked the scribe to put it in its place.[152] In light of the above, Abū Bakr's compilation could only have consisted of bringing all of the pieces together in one book, not of arranging the surahs.[153] The same applies to 'Uthmān's compilation. As Ibn al-Bāqillānī states:

> The whole Qur'an, whose compilation and writing Allah commanded, excluding the abrogated verses, is what is contained in this *muṣḥaf* [of 'Uthmān]. It is the same arrangement and style revealed to the Prophet in the very same manner of verses and surahs with no difference in word order, and the Ummah has received from the Prophet the arrangement of every verse and surah, and their places, as they have received the recitation of the Qur'an.[154]

Referring to "It is for us to collect it and to promulgate it" (75:17), Ibn Ḥazm concludes that its letters, words, verses, and surahs are arranged as Allah revealed to his Prophet, who taught the people accordingly. Thus, no one can change anything.[155] Some scholars say that the surahs' arrangement proves that the Qur'an was revealed in a fixed order. For example:

1. The arrangement of surah beginning with such letters as *al-ḥawāmīm* (seven surahs begin with *ḥā mīm* [surahs 40-46]);
2. The agreement of a surah's beginning with the end of its predecessor; for example, the end of surah 1 and the beginning of surah 2;
3. *Al-wazn fī al-lafẓ* (similarities of verse endings [*fawāṣil*]), as in the end of surah 111 and the beginning of surah 112, which ends in *aḥad*; and
4. The similarity between surahs in general, like surahs 93 and 94.[156]

The differences among the Companions' copies are said to exist because they were personal copies. If a surah (or more) were revealed in a Companion's absence, he would write it down when convenient.[157] Given that there are no authentic chains that provide exact information about these copies,

nothing that is said about them should be accepted as fact. Contradictory accounts are given of the surahs' order in certain copies,[158] but in any case they do not correspond to the Qur'an's final version.[159]

Finally, the hadith about ʿUthmān arranging surahs 8 and 9 is said to be inauthentic and its chain and text have been criticized. One of its narrators, Yazīd al-Fārisī, is unknown and regarded as weak by Bukhārī and Tirmidhī.[160] Its text (*matn*) also contradicts authentic reports. Ahmad Shakir argues: "This hadith is very weak and, in fact, has no basis in its *isnād*. In addition, its text throws doubts on the *basmalah* at the beginning of the surahs, as though ʿUthmān had added to them or omitted some part of them as he liked, veneration be to him."[161]

Muhammad Rashid Rida adopted this opinion before Shakir, stating that a hadith narrated by just one man could not be accepted in this case, since successive narration is necessary[162]: "An account narrated by a man like this, which is unique to him, is not sound and should not be accepted for the arrangement of the Qur'an, which is transmitted with *tawātur*."[163] He also says that it is impossible that every surah, except these two, was arranged. All authorities state that the Prophet and his Companions recited the surahs in their proper order both during their prayers and at all other times.[164]

Rida refers to the following hadith: "The Prophet used to recite the whole Qur'an to Jibrīl, and Jibrīl to him, during Ramadan once every year. But in the last Ramadan before his death, the Prophet recited it twice to Jibrīl, and Jibrīl to him."[165] He argues that the order of surahs 8 and 9 must have been well known at that time.[166] It is an accepted principle in the science of hadith that an isolated hadith is not accepted if it contradicts the verdict of reason and of the Qur'an.[167]

Furthermore, Mālik (d. 179 AH/795 AC) writes: "The Qur'an was compiled according to the revelation, as they (the Companions) heard it from the Prophet."[168] Al-Qurṭubī (d. 671 AH/1272 AC) argues that its arrangement as a written document has a fixed revealed order, but that the readers are allowed to recite it in a different order.[169] Furthermore, he concludes that the surahs' order is like that of the verses, all of which have come to us from the Prophet as Allah revealed them. If someone were to change this order, it would be like changing the structure of the verses, letters, and words.[170]

Al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243 AH/857 AC) reports that the Qur'an's compilation was not invented, for the Prophet told his Companions to write it down. They did so, on *riqāʿ* (pieces of cloth), *aktāf* (shoulder-blades), and *ʿusub* (palm branches stripped of their leaves). Abū Bakr simply had what

was written down copied and assembled in one place. Such materials were found in the Prophet's house after his death, at which time they were arranged and tied together with a cord to ensure that none were lost.[171] Al-Suyūṭī devotes a whole book, *Tanāsuq al-Durar fī Tanāsub al-Suwar*,[172] to studing this subject thoroughly from its linguistic and rhetorical aspects[173] to prove the succession of all of the Qur'an's verses and surahs.

COMPILING AND ARRANGING THE VERSES

All scholars agree that the verses' order was ordained by revelation, not by the Prophet or his Companions.[174] Ibn al-Zubayr said to ʿUthmān: "This verse, which is in *Surat al-Baqarah*, 'Those who die and leave wives behind ... without turning them out,' has been abrogated by another verse. Why, then, do you write it (in the Qur'an)?" ʿUthmān said: "Leave it (where it is), nephew, for I will not shift anything of it (the Qur'an) from its original position."[175]

The surahs were revealed on specific occasions, the verses answered a specific question or inquiry, and Jibril would tell the Prophet where to put them.[176] The Prophet told his followers: "Jibril came to me and told me to put this verse here in this surah (16:90): 'God commands justice, the doing of good and liberality to kith and kin.'" Ibn ʿAbbās relates that the last verse to be revealed was "And fear the day when you shall be brought back to God. Then shall every soul be paid what it has earned and none shall be dealt with unjustly" (2:281), after which Jibril said to the Prophet: "Put it after verse 280 of *Surat al-Baqarah*."[177]

ʿUmar said: "I have not asked the Prophet about anything more than I asked him about *al-kalālah*,[178] to the extent that he pointed his finger at my chest and said: 'Be satisfied with the verse revealed in summer, which is in the end of *Surat al-Nisā'*.'"[179] Someone asked the Prophet which verse would bring good to him and his people, and was told: "The end of *Surat al-Baqarah*, for it is one of the treasures of God's mercy from under His Throne that He gave to His people, and there is no good in this world and the next which it does not include."[180]

The Prophet, who usually taught the Qur'an to his Companions, would ask one of his learned Companions to teach it if he was busy. ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit said: "When the Prophet became busy and someone migrated to him, he would ask one of us to teach him the Qur'an."[181] He would also send teachers to distant places: "He sent Muʿādh and Abū Mūsā to Yemen

and commanded them to teach the people the Qur'an."[182] One of the Successors reported:

> The Companions who used to teach them the Qur'an said that they learned it from the Prophet ten verses [at a time], and they did not learn another unit of ten verses until they understood their meaning and fulfilled their requirements.[183]

However, the Qur'an itself indicates that each surah has its own internal arrangement. Thus, Qur'an 11:13 challenges the Arabs during the Makkan period:

> Or they may say: "He forged it." Say: "Then bring ten surahs forged, like unto it, and call (to your aid) whomsoever you can, other than God, if you speak the truth."

This challenge continued in the Madinan period:

> And if you are in doubt as to what we have revealed from time to time to our servant, then produce a surah like thereunto and call your witnesses or helpers (if there are any) besides God, if your (doubts) are true. (2:23)

The Prophet also recited surahs while leading his Companions in prayer, an indication that they have a fixed revealed order. Furthermore, as al-Suyūṭī points out, it would have been impossible for the Companions to arrange the verses in an order different from the one they heard the Prophet use in his recitation. This is a strong argument for its having been revealed in a fixed order.[184] Al-Suyūṭī quotes Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Makkī ibn Abū Ṭālib al-Qaysī, Ibn al-Bāqillānī, Mālik ibn Anas, al-Bayhaqī, and Ibn al-Ḥassar as supporting him on the verses' succession in the surahs.[185]

THE PROBLEM OF MISSING VERSES

Zayd ibn Thābit said of Abū Bakr's compilation:

> I started looking for the Qur'an and collecting it from (what was written on) palm stalks, thin white stones, and also from the men who knew it by heart, until I found the last verse of *Surat al-Tawbah* (Chapter of Repentance) with Abū Khuzaymah al-Anṣārī, and I found it only with him. The verse is: "Now has come unto you a Messenger from among yourselves. It grieves him that you should receive any injury or difficulty ... (until the end of *Barā'ah*)" (9:128-29).[186]

Abū Khuzaymah was the only one who had written this verse down, for many *qurrā'* had memorized the whole Qur'an.[187] For instance, when Zayd ibn Thābit reached the end of "Then they turn aside: God has turned their hearts (from the light) for they are a people that understood not" (9:127), Ubayy ibn Ka'b informed him that the Prophet had taught him two verses after that. He then recited verses 9:128-29:

> Now has come unto you a Messenger from among yourselves. It grieves him that you should receive any injury or difficulty. Ardently anxious is he over you. To the believers, He is most Kind and Merciful. But if they turn away, say: "Allah suffices me. There is no deity but He. In Him I place my trust – He, the Lord of the Throne (of Glory) Supreme.

Ubayy added that this was the last verse to be revealed.[188] In another version, Zayd said:

> I missed a verse from *Surat al-Aḥzāb* when we copied the Qur'an, and I used to hear Allah's Apostle (peace be upon him) recite it. So we searched for it and found it with Khuzaymah ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī. (That verse was 33:23: "Among the believers are men who have been true in their covenant with God.") We then added it to its surah in the copy.[189]

The same theory advanced for *Surat al-Tawbah*'s missing verses can be applied here, with the addition that Zayd had memorized this verse, as he clearly stated in this account. Some scholars argue that the episode of *Surat al-Aḥzāb*'s missing verse, 33:23, took place during 'Uthmān's compilation.[190] Ibn Kathīr asserts that it occurred during Abū Bakr's compilation, because it is confirmed by another version of the same authentic tradition.[191]

Ibn Abū Dāwūd[192] narrates a version in which Khuzaymah ibn Thābit came with *Surat al-Tawbah*'s two final verses, and 'Umar said that he would have made them a surah if they had been three verses. Then he suggested that he should decide where to put them. As a result, they were put at the end of *Surat al-Tawbah*.[193] This version, however, is said to be inauthentic, for it has three problems in its chain and its text contradicts successive and sound reports that the Prophet taught his Companions both the Qur'an and the correct order of its verses and surahs.

In addition, this version states that Abū Khuzaymah put the two verses at the end of *Surat al-Tawbah*, although the scholars agree unanimously that he did not take part in compiling the Qur'an.[194] Indeed, Ibn Abū Dāwūd himself narrates in the same book, and even on the same page, another version that contradicts the above account: Ubayy ibn Ka'b reported that when

they compiled the Qur'an, the scribes thought that 9:127 was the end of a surah. Then he informed them: "The Prophet taught me two verses after this, 'Verily has come unto you a Messenger…'"[195]

In support of the latter hadith, *Al-Musnad* contains one hadith narrated from al-Barā': "The last surah revealed completely to the Prophet was *Surat Barā'ah*."[196] Thus, the end of this surah was just as well known to the Companions as were its beginning and body. Nevertheless, Ubayy said that those two verses were the last revealed verses,[197] having been revealed in 9 AH/630 AC. The Prophet sent ʿAlī to recite the entire surah to the Hajj congregation at Makkah.[198]

In his *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, al-Nasā'ī (d. 303 AH/915 AC) reports Zayd's hadith about Abū Bakr's compilation without mentioning these two missing verses.[199] Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 AH/1063 AC) accepts that Zayd found these two verses with Khuzaymah, but emphasizes that this refers only to the written form, as Zayd had memorized them.[200] According to al-Qurṭubī, Khuzaymah substantiates the verses but with the consensus of the Companions.[201] Ibn al-Bāqillānī, on the other hand, refutes all of this and states that the Qur'an was recorded in written form without any exception.[202]

In the light of all the above accounts, I conclude that each verse was arranged and put in its correct order.

THE MEANING OF *JAMʿ AL-QUR'ĀN*

The word *jamaʿa* in *jamaʿa al-Qur'ān* has two meanings. The first one is "to memorize," which occurs in the Qur'an in the sense of *inna ʿalaynā jamʿahū wa qur'ānahū*[203] ("For, behold it is for Us to gather it [in your heart] and to cause it to be read [as it ought to be read"]). The expression *jāmiʿ al-Qur'ān* and its plural, *jumnāʿ al-Qur'ān*, are used to mean "a man/woman or people who memorize the whole book." Thus, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr said: "*Jamaʿtu al-Qur'ān fa qara'tu bihi fī kulli laylah*"[204] ("I have memorized the [whole] Qur'an and recite it every night"). Ibn Sīrīn said that ʿUthmān memorized the Qur'an during the Prophet's lifetime: "*Jamaʿa ʿUthmān al-Qur'ān ʿalā ʿahd Rasūl Allāh ṣalla Allah ʿalayhi wa sallām, yaqūlu: ḥafiẓ-ahu.*"[205] The second meaning is "to collect and write down," as in "*Abū Bakr awwal man jamaʿa al-Qur'ān bayn al-lawḥayn*"[206] ("Abū Bakr was the first to compile the Qur'an in a written form, as a book [between two boards]").

Many Companions memorized the entire Qur'an.[207] This study has listed more than 30 of them.[208] In addition, hundreds of them memorized some of its parts and surahs[209] for a variety of reasons, among them the excellence of

its language in the eyes of the Arabs[210] and its use for prayers and private and collective recitations.[211] It also served as a book of shari'ah (law) and of social, business, and state affairs. The Prophet urged them to recite the Qur'an collectively and privately, especially in the night prayers during Ramadan, and to memorize either parts or all of it.[212] Those who do so are highly honored and rewarded in the Hereafter.[213]

Also, as Muir states, the Arabs' memory was tenacious.[214] Some Companions actually recited all of it in one night. However, the Prophet asked them not to do so in less than three days or a week.[215] On the other hand, Anas ibn Mālik reported that only four persons memorized the entire Qur'an while the Prophet was alive.[216] Although many interpretations of this statement have been offered, the only reasonable one is that he meant among his own Khazraj tribe, since he was boasting of their achievements as compared to the other branch of the *Anṣār* (i.e., the Aws).[217]

Thus, the *jummā' al-Qur'ān* are those who memorized and recited the Qur'an by heart. The words *ḥuffāẓ* and *qurrā'* have exactly the same meaning.[218] Shaban's[219] claim that *qurrā'* refer to the *ahl al-qurā* (villagers) rather than to these reciters seems to be groundless, since all standard references indicate that it refers to the reciters. Furthermore, no lexicographical source gives *qurrā'* as a derivation of *qaryah*, the only accepted plural form of which is *qarawiyyūn*. However, as mentioned earlier, the Prophet had numerous scribes who took down the revelation to aid memorization.[220]

THE WORDS *ṢAḤĪFAH* (COMPILATION) AND *MUṢḤAF* (COPY), AND THEIR ORIGINS

As al-Jawharī states, *ṣaḥīfah* (pl. *ṣuḥuf* and *ṣaḥā'if*) means "a book," as in Qur'an 87:18-19: "And this is in the book of earliest (revelations), the book of Abraham and Moses," namely, the book revealed to them.[221] The words *muṣḥaf, miṣḥaf,* or *maṣḥaf* mean "a (book) containing written sheets between two covers." Al-Azharī is reported to have said: "It is called *muṣḥaf* because it contained written sheets between two covers."[222] One hadith proves that the Prophet used *muṣḥaf* in reference to the Qur'an's written form. 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Ās supports this fact by relating that someone told the Prophet: "My son reads the *muṣḥaf* in the daytime."[223] In another version, the Prophet forbade travelling in enemy territory with a *muṣḥaf* lest the enemy take it (and destroy or dishonor it).[224]

Thus, the word *muṣḥaf* (copy) was known to the Muslims, which indicates that they neither borrowed or invented it after the Prophet's death. In

fact, they knew it even before Islam, for it appears in a verse of the pre-Islamic poet Imru' al-Qays: *Atat ḥijajun ba'dī 'alayhā fa aṣbaḥat ka khaṭṭi zabūrin fī maṣāḥif ruhbān* (Some years elapsed since my presence, and it became like the writing of psalms in the *maṣāḥif* of monks).[225]

This word is believed to be of Ethiopian origin.[226] Some scholars think that it was brought back by the Muslims who had emigrated to Ethiopia, and that Ibn Mas'ūd suggested this name for Abū Bakr's compilation.[227] However, it had already appeared in Arabic poetry and it is unlikely that Ibn Mas'ūd, who took no part in the compilation, would have been involved in this way. In short, this account cannot be accepted. Other scholars say that this word does not necessarily pertain to the entire Qur'anic text, but can refer to a portion of it.[228] However, in the references mentioned above, it refers to the entire text. Some personal codices (manuscripts and fragments) may not have included the entire text; however, the copies made by 'Uthmān, based upon the first compilation, did.

THE THEORY OF ABROGATION (*NASKH*)

Although most scholars agree that abrogation (*naskh*) exist, they differ on many points, particularly on its meaning, modes, and examples.[229] All of them agree[230] on the first mode, namely, *naskh al-ḥukm wa baqā' al-tilāwah* (abrogating the ruling and keeping its recitation), as in 2:240, which is said to have been abrogated by 2:234.[231] The second mode is *naskh al-ḥukm wa al-tilāwah* (abrogating the ruling and its recitation). Some verses and parts of verses are said to have been eliminated. For example, Ibn 'Umar said that the Prophet taught two men a surah. One night while they were praying, they could not remember part of it. The next day, after they informed the Prophet, he told them that this was part of what had been abrogated and to forget about it.[232]

It is also said that surah 33 used to contain 200 verses, and that when 'Uthmān was compiling the Qur'an, he could find only what is present today.[233] Another version claimed that this surah was similar to *Surat al-Baqarah*.[234] Moreover, Ḥudhayfah said that what we read of *Surat al-Tawbah* is less than a fourth of the original.[235] According to Ibn 'Umar:

> Nobody should say that he has committed the whole Qur'an to memory, for he does not know what is the whole Qur'an, since much of the Qur'an has been eliminated. Rather, he should say that he has memorized what is found of it.[236]

Finally, al-Thawrī reported that he learned that some *qurrā'* were killed fighting Musaylimah and, as a result, some recitations (*ḥurūf*) were lost.[237]

The last mode of abrogations is *mansūkh al-tilāwah dūn al-ḥukm* (abrogating the recitation without the ruling). In other words, some verses are no longer to be recited, but are still considered to exist in practice. Several examples are given here:

THE FIRST EXAMPLE: Some *qurrā'* were killed at Bi'r Ma'ūnah and the following text was eliminated: "Inform our people that we have met our Lord. He is well pleased with us and has satisfied us."[238] Al-Suhaylī points out that this sentence clearly differs from the Qur'anic style,[239] which shows the report's weakness.[240]

THE SECOND EXAMPLE: "Prohibited to you (for marriage) are ... foster sisters" (4:23). When discussing how many times an infant must be suckled for a foster relationship to be established, al-Rāzī quotes a hadith attributed to 'Ā'ishah that the number was reduced from ten to five. In this case, ten sucklings is *mansūkh al-tilāwah wa al-ḥukm* and five is *mansūkh al-tilāwah dūn al-ḥukm*, since the Qur'an refers to neither number. 'Ā'ishah narrated this report in different versions. One version states that the verse of suckling was recited during the Prophet's lifetime and that he left it as part of the Qur'an.[241] Makkī refers to this version as weak, for it contradicts both the Qur'an and reason.[242] He also regards this example as odd when it comes to the matter of abrogation, given that the abrogating passage is not recited. Thus, the abrogated passage and the verdict of abrogation both stand.[243] Makkī assigns it to the second mode of abrogation.

Al-Suyūṭī argues that 'Ā'ishah meant that the Prophet was near death when it was eliminated, or that some people learned of its abrogation only after his died.[244] Al-Jaṣṣās (d. 370 AH/980 AC) rejects this version, because it indicates that the abrogation took place after the Prophet's death.[245] In addition, al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321 AH/933 AC) considers its narration to be weak and objects to it strongly.[246] Furthermore, al-Naḥḥās (d. 338 AH/949 AC) points out that Mālik ibn Anas, despite narrating this hadith, rejects it and says that a single suckling causes this prohibition, since this is what the earlier-mentioned verse implies. He adds that Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and Abū Thawr questioned this hadith, for they believed that three sucklings establish this prohibition.[247] In addition, al-Naḥḥās states that if this version were authentic, 'Ā'ishah would have reported it to the committee of scribes so that it could be included in the copies. Qur'an 15:9 also states: "We have without doubt sent down the message, and We will assuredly guard it (from corruption)."

Hammudah argues that there are many contradictory versions of this report. Once it appears as *mansūkh al-tilāwah*, and at other times does not. In one version, the prescriptions of five and ten times are revealed in a single verse, while in another version the ten sucklings are revealed prior to the five sucklings.[248] To conclude, the hadith is inauthentic and groundless.

The third example: "*Al-shaykh wa al-shaykhah*. When they commit adultery, stone them as exemplary punishment from Allah. Allah is Mighty and Wise."[249] This is said to have been a Qur'anic verse. The verdict of stoning is agreed to be *sunnah*, as ʿUmar and ʿAlī said that the Prophet's *sunnah* established it.[250] Bukhārī, who narrates this penalty, does not mention "*al-shaykh wa al-shaykhah*." Al-ʿAsqalānī suggests that Bukhārī's omission may have been intentional, because only one narrator (*rāwī*) mentioned it and that he could have been mistaken. Al-ʿAsqalānī adds that the great scholars (*Aʾimmah* and *ḥuffāẓ*) narrated the hadith, but not that particular phrase.[251] Al-Ṭaḥāwī discusses it in detail, concludes that the Prophet's Sunnah establishes the stoning of a married person, and cites ʿAlī's statement: "I have flogged her according to the Book of Allah and stoned her according to the Prophet's Sunnah."[252] This example is said to be the best one of *mansūkh al-tilāwah dūn al-ḥukm*.[253]

In addition to "*al-shaykh wa al-shaykhah*," Marwān ibn al-Ḥakm suggested to Zayd ibn Thābit that he include it, but the latter refused to do so because it was contradictory: "Don't you see that young married people are stoned if they commit adultery?"[254] This would imply that Zayd was left to decide whether or not to accept material for inclusion. Moreover, Marwān is not known to have had any role in compiling the Qur'an. Al-Ghamārī states that this version is disavowed (*munkar*) and that Zayd could not have omitted something simply because it contradicted the stoning of young married people.[255]

Also, ʿUmar said that he asked the Prophet if he could write it down after its revelation, but that the Prophet seemed unwilling to agree. So ʿUmar asked Zayd: "Don't you see that if the *shaykh* commits adultery and is unmarried, he is flogged, and that if the young man commits adultery and is married, he is stoned?"[256] However, it was unusual for the Prophet to be unwilling to have a revealed verse written down, and it is doubtful that ʿUmar could object to a verse that he believed Allah had revealed.[257] Al-Ghamārī states that Allah would not have omitted a verse just because some people objected to it. He adds that all of these contradictions support the view that the "verse of stoning" (*āyat al-rajm*) is, at most, a hadith.[258]

THE FOURTH EXAMPLE: This consists of the following "verse":

> If the son of Adam were to ask for a valley of wealth and be given it, he would ask for a second one; if he were to ask for a second and be given it, he would ask for a third. Nothing would fill the throat of the son of Adam except dust. Allah accepts the repentance of the one who repents. Verily, the faithful religion in the sight of Allah is the straight path (al-Ḥanīfiyyah), which is not polytheism, not Judaism, and not Christianity. And he who does good deeds will not be rejected.[259]

Al-Suhaylī (d. 581 AH/1185 AC) states that this alleged verse would, in any case, be narrative (*khabar*) as opposed to command, prohibition, and so on (*ḥukm*), and therefore not subject to the rules of abrogation.[260] The hadith's authentic transmission mentions only that the Prophet read surah 98 to Ubayy without mentioning the addition.[261] In another version, Ibn ʿAbbās said that he did not know if this (addition) was from the Qur'an or not.[262] However, he mentined that they thought that it was from the Qur'an until *Surat al-Takāthur* was revealed.[263] Al-Alūsī considers that the addition attributed to Ubayy is inauthentic.[264] However, Hammudah maintains that stylistically, in his view, it is a hadith because *yahūdiyyah, naṣrāniyyah,* and *ḥanīfiyyah* are not found in the Qur'an, while the wording is similar to the utterances of a hadith.[265]

THE FIFTH EXAMPLE: Abū Mūsā reported that they would read a surah that they thought was similar to one of *al-Musabbiḥāt,*[266] which they had forgotten, but that they still remembered from it: "O you who believe, do not say that which you do not do. It will be certified on your necks, and you will be questioned about it on the Day of Judgment."[267]

THE SIXTH EXAMPLE: ʿUmar said that they would recite: "Do not reject your fathers, for this will be (accounted) disbelief against you." Then he asked Zayd: "Was it so?" and he replied: "Yes."[268]

THE SEVENTH EXAMPLE: ʿUmar asked ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf if he found the phrase "Fight as you have been fighting at first" in the Qur'an, for it was not there now. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān replied that it was from the part that had been eliminated.[269]

THE EIGHTH EXAMPLE: Maslamah ibn Khālid al-Anṣārī said that two verses were not recorded:

> Those who believed and suffered exile and fought in the path of Allah, with their wealth and persons, rejoice, for you are successful, and those who gave them asylum and aided and defended them against the people with whom Allah is angry. No person knows what delights of the eyes are kept hidden for them - as a reward for their (good) deeds.[270]

Obviously, these two verses are borrowed with little change from Qur'an 8:74 and 32:17 and then joined together.

The ninth example: 'Ā'ishah recited Qur'an 33:56: "God and His angels send blessings on the Prophet ..." with the addition "And those who pray in the first line." This addition is reported to have been a hadith,[271] which indicates that her report is no more than a *sunnah*.

The tenth example: The surahs that are sometimes combined into one surah known as *qunūt* and sometimes known separately as *Surat al-Khal* and *Surat al-Hafid* were eliminated from the Qur'an.[272]

However, Ibn al-Bāqillānī objects to his theory of *mansūkh al-tilāwah*. He quotes a group of scholars who say that the reports are isolated and therefore unable to judge the Revelation and its abrogation.[273] A contemporary researcher who studied the theory of abrogation concludes that all of these reports are fabricated, although he agrees in general to *mansūkh al-tilāwah wa al-hukm*, since the abrogation took place while the Qur'an was being revealed and the Prophet was still alive.[274]

However, many reasons exist for objecting to both kinds of abrogation:

1. All of the examples given are inauthentic, contradictory, or isolated reports in many different versions.
2. The examples differ from the Qur'an's style, as can be seen by comparing the end of surahs 2 and 3 with *du'ā' al-qunūt* (usually recited during prayer).
3. All *usūlīs* (*usūl al-fiqh* scholars) agree that the Qur'an is substantiated only by successive reports, whereas the examples given are isolated reports.[275]

Although the Shī'ahs and the Sunnīs generally agree on the existence of abrogation,[276] some Shī'ah scholars claim that the Sunnī scholars' acceptance of it proves that the Qur'an has been corrupted.[277] Western scholars have various opinions on the subject. Nöldeke accepts the traditional accounts,[278] while Burton rejects the entire concept as a fabrication.[279] On the other hand, Wansbrough, in line with his general approach, regards the whole issue as a projection back in time of later disputes.[280]

SHĪ'AH OPINIONS ON THE QUR'AN'S ALTERATION

Many narrations in Shī'ah sources claim that the Qur'an was altered because certain parts dealing with the position of the *Ahl al-Bayt* were inten-

tionally omitted.[281] In one example, Abū ʿAbd Allāh said that the Qur'an, as revealed by Jibrīl to Muhammad, consisted of 17,000 verses[282] and that surah 98 named 70 Qurayshī men and their fathers.[283] In addition, he told one of his followers to read the present-day Qur'an, saying that when the Righteous One (*Qā'im*) came he should read the original Qur'an in its complete form.[284] *Surat al-Aḥzāb* is said to have been as long as *Surat al-An'ām*, and the *Ahl al-Bayt*'s virtures are said to have been omitted.[285] Moreover, he said that "*Ummatun hiya arbā min ummah*" has been corrupted and that it should be recited as: "*A'immatun hiya azkā min a'immatikum*."[286]

Some Shīʿah scholars also claim that the meaning of certain verses has been deliberately distorted, such as 43:4: "And verily, it is in the Mother of the Books, in Our Presence, high (in dignity), full of wisdom." The scholars assume that *ʿaliyy*, which means "high (in dignity)," as it appears in the context, refers to ʿAlī ibn Abū Ṭālib.[287] Al-Qummī states that the Qur'an has been altered by putting one style of recitation in the place of another, and that it contains material that does not accord with the Revelation.[288] Moreover, Fāṭimah's copy is said to have been three times the size of the existing copy and that it contained no style of recitation found in the latter.[289]

Furthermore, only the *A'immah* (the chain of Shīʿah imams) are said to have the entire Qur'an[290] and that two surahs concerning the *Ahl al-Bayt*'s rank are missing: *Surat al-Walāyah* and *Surat al-Nurayn*.[291] These consist of some Qur'anic verses gathered from different surahs and then added to or altered in some way. Some Shīʿahs believe that these reports were fabricated, and Shīʿah reference works give no original source for them.[292]

Stylistically, many errors bear witness to their inauthenticity.[293] Moreover, ʿAlī, who ruled for several years after ʿUthmān, and then his son al-Ḥasan, who ruled for several months after him, would have been able to correct any errors or restore the proper order if anything had been altered. Furthermore, ʿAlī agreed with ʿUthmān, supported his compilation project, and defended him against the rebels.[294]

Most Shīʿahs also reject the theory of alteration on the grounds of the inauthenticity and fabrication of the reports,[295] of the stylistic differences and linguistic errors,[296] and because the title, the so-called *al-Nurayn* (referring to the Prophet and ʿAlī), is known to have been invented in the seventh century AH/twelfth century AC.[297] Some reports are said to be authentic, although they indicate that the copy has been altered. However, these are interpreted as referring to interpretation added to the text as commentary and not as part of the Qur'an.[298] Indeed, all of the copies in existence today are the same. Those printed in Egypt were accepted and copied in Iran and other

places, without any alterations, additions, or omissions. They agree in the recitation and orthography, although they may differ over the meanings and interpretations.

TWO ALLEGED EPISODES THAT CAST DOUBT

Before concluding this chapter, it is appropriate to analyze the two alleged episodes that supposedly "cast doubt" on the Qur'anic texts' trustworthiness. The first of these is the story of the *gharānīq*, which many writers have discussed.[299] In essence, the Prophet is reported to have recited surah 53 in Makkah and, when coming to its end, prostrating after reciting *yasjudūn* (they prostrate). [This is known as *sajdah al-tilāwah*.] Those who were praying with him, including some non-Muslims, followed him.[300] Some of the Muslims migrants to Abyssinia returned to Makkah, having heard that the Makkans had embraced Islam after following this prostration.[301]

So far, the reports are accepted. However, some narrators link this report with the story of *al-gharānīq*, which states that when the Prophet recited Qur'an 53:10-20, he added: "*Tilka al-gharānīq al-'ulā wa inna shafā'atahunna la turtajā*"[302] ("These are the exalted *gharānīq* whose intercession is to be hoped for"). Upon hearing this addition, Jibrīl came with a revelation to abrogate it immediately. Moreover, certain Qur'anic commentators quote this as an example of Satan interfering in the process of revelation. The story, however, is fiction, for it is found no earlier than the time of the Successors and is not attributed in any of its versions to a Companion, let alone to the Prophet.[303] Hence, al-Rāzī asserts that it was invented by enemies of Islam.[304]

The presence of this story in many Qur'anic commentaries is no different from the presence of the *Isrā'īliyyāt* (stories or explanations borrowed from the Jews to explain certain events mentioned in the Qur'an and the hadiths). Al-Qādī 'Iyād refutes it on two grounds: It is groundless, obscure, contradictory, and not attributed to any Companion; and its context contradicts the Prophet's infallibility, for Satan cannot influence him and the Prophet can never have wished to praise false deities, either intentionally or otherwise. This is proven by his statement: "Verily my eyes sleep, but my heart does not." Al-Qādī 'Iyād adds that the story's words differ in style and seem alien to the Qur'an, and that no enemy of Islam states that they used this story against the Qur'an.

Furthermore, no new Muslims reverted to their former paganism as a result, as happened after the *Isrā'* (the Prophet's night journey to Jerusalem

and his ascent to heaven, both of which took place in spirit.). In addition, the Quraysh and the Thaqīf tribes had told the Prophet that they would embrace Islam if he pleased their idols by looking upon them with favor. But he had refused their proposal, a further indication that this story is false.[305]

According to al-Qaḍī 'Iyaḍ, if the story were authentic, the best interpretation for *al-gharānīq* would have been "the angels," since one can hope for their intercession. However, when the polytheists attributed *gharānīq* to their idols, it was abrogated.[306] In refuting this story, al-Rāzī points out that the Qur'an, the Sunnah, and reason all reject it. First, he quotes the Qur'an:

> And if the Messenger were to invent any sayings in Our name, We should certainly seize him by his right hand, and We should certainly then cut off the artery of his heart. Nor could any of you withhold him (from Our wrath). (69:44–47)
>
> It is not for me, of my own accord, to change it. I follow naught but what is revealed unto me. If I were to disobey my Lord, I should myself fear the penalty of a Great Day to come. (10:15)
>
> Nor does he say (aught) of (his own) desire. It is no less than inspiration sent down to him. (53:3–4)
>
> And their purpose was to tempt you away from that which We had revealed to you to substitute, in Our name, something quite different. (In that case), behold! They would certainly have made you (their friend)! And had We not given you strength, you would nearly have inclined to them a little. (17:73–74)
>
> Thus (is it revealed), that We may strengthen your heart thereby, and We have rehearsed it to you in slow well-arranged stages gradually. (25:32)
>
> By degrees shall We teach you to declare (the Message), so you will not forget. (87:6)

Second, he reports Ibn Khuzaymah (d. 311 AH/923 AC) as having said that the story was fabricated by the *Zanādiqah* (atheists). In his book on this subject, he reports that al-Bayhaqī stated: "This story is groundless in its transmission and its narrators are rejected." He also refers to al-Bukhārī, who does not mention it.[307]

Third, al-Rāzī argues that to praise idols is unbelief, which cannot be attributed to the Prophet, who would not allow himself to pray in the Ka'bah until after it had been cleansed of all idolatrous traces. He adds that

Allah would have prevented Satan from causing confusion right at the outset, rather than allowing him to do so and then correcting it. Al-Rāzī also refutes the possibility that the Prophet could have added or omitted anything from the Revelation.[308] Furthermore, what is meant by *yansakhu* in Qur'an 22:53 is its linguistic meaning (i.e., *izālah*), rather than the term used in *al-nāsikh wa al-mansūkh*.[309] In addition, *tamannā* in this context simply means hope,[310] although it may mean "to recite."[311] In fact, Ibn Hishām mentions only that the *Muhājirūn* returned to Makkah.[312]

Ibn Kathīr objects to it and confirms that it is not accepted. He states that although it is narrated in many different weak versions, it is rejected because a weak version is not acceptable, no matter how many times it is reported.[313] Muḥammad ʿAbduh points out that no sound report states that the pre-Islamic Arabs, in either their poetry or speeches, used *ghurnūq* or *ghirnīq* (pl. *gharānīq*) as a name for their idols. In addition, after a lexicographical study of the words' meaning, he concludes that none of them seems to be relevant to these idols.[314]

The second episode maintains that certain scribes would deceive the Prophet by changing the verse endings and that the Prophet saw little point in objecting. He accepted the alterations on the grounds that it made no difference if the phrase were written as *Samīʿun ʿAlīm* or *ʿAlīmun Samīʿ*.[315] This story is attributed to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abū al-Sarḥ, who, as a result, is reported to have left Islam, returned to Makkah, and claimed that he wrote what he wanted.

Another version says that when the Prophet recited Qur'an 23:12-14 and asked Ibn Abū al-Sarḥ to write it down, the latter said "*fatabāraka Allāhū ahsanu al-khāliqīn*." The Prophet then said: "So it has been revealed," whereupon the scribe reverted and said that it had been revealed to him as much as to the Prophet.[316] After the conquest of Makkah, the Prophet ordered his execution. However, this report is groundless, since no earlier reliable source, such as the books of conquest (*kutub al-maghāzī*) and *Sīrah* of Ibn Hishām, mentions it. The first reference to it appears on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 146 AH/763 AC) and al-Wāqidī (d. 207 AH/822 AC).[317] But both men are accused liars.[318] The same thing is attributed to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abū Khaṭal[319] and to an ex-Christian who made alterations and reverted to Christianity. It is reported that his grave cast him up many times.[320]

The story, however, is groundless and fictitious. It is difficult to believe that the Qur'an, which was memorized by the Prophet and many of his Companions, some of whom had their own personal manuscripts, could have been altered with or without the Prophet's consent. The Prophet cor-

rected al-Barā' ibn ʿĀzib, who changed a single word while reciting what he had been taught to say when going to sleep. Given this, the Prophet would not have permitted any change in the Qur'anic text.[321] Furthermore, the ending verses (*al-fawāṣil*) play an important role in the Qur'an's stylistic beauty. In no case do the scribes differ in writing any verse endings (*fāṣilah*), although they are reported to have differed in writing *al-tābūt* (whether to write it with a final *tā'* or *hā'*).

Reliable sources mention that ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abū al-Sarḥ, a scribe of the revelation, reverted and fled from Madinah to his people in Makkah. But when the Prophet ordered his execution after conquering Makkah, ʿUthmān asked the Prophet to accept his repentance. He did so. Even if Ibn Abū al-Sarḥ claimed, after leaving Islam, that he altered the Qur'an, this allegation should not be accepted any more than in the case of al-Raḥḥāl ibn ʿUnfuwah, who, when sent to the Banū Ḥanīfah (the people of Musaylimah), joined Musaylimah. There, he told the people that the Prophet had agreed to share prophethood with Musaylimah, and some of them followed him.[322]

Also it is difficult to believe that the Prophet was deceived three times, respectively, given his statement: "The believer is not stung twice from the same hole."[323]

In conclusion, we can say that the Companions memorized the Qur'an and the appointed scribes recorded it during the Prophet's lifetime. Abū Bakr compiled these records in a complete copy and ordered the verses and surahs according to the Revelation and as he found them in the writings and memories of *ḥuffāẓ*. He kept this copy, after which it passed to ʿUmar and, after his death, to his daughter Ḥafṣah, because he died before ʿUthmān became caliph. When differences arose among the *qurrā'*, ʿUthmān, with the Companions' consent, had copies made from Abū Bakr's master copy and then distributed to the major metropolitan cities, along with a *qāri'* (reciter of the Qur'an) to teach the people.

The Qur'an was received and transmitted in a successive manner, generation after generation. Hence, the copy that we have today is a complete record of the Qur'an without alteration, addition, or omission. Obscured, weak, or fabricated reports cannot be accepted, for the Qur'an requires a successive transmission for every piece of information concerning its text. Although the abrogation of certain verses during the Prophet's lifetime does not affect the Qur'an's trustworthiness, all of the claimed examples of abrogation analyzed in this chapter are shown to be groundless, as are the stories of the *gharānīq* and of scribes having altered the verse endings.

CHAPTER 3

The ʿUthmānic Writ

THE ʿUTHMĀNIC COPIES AND THEIR RELATION TO THE SEVEN STYLES OF RECITATION

Did the copies compiled by ʿUthmān include the seven styles of recitation? Depending on the nature of these styles, there are different answers. Ibn al-Jazarī writes that some scholars assert that the copies do contain the seven styles of recitation. They argue that the Muslim community (Ummah) cannot abandon any part of them and that the copies were made from Abū Bakr's compilation.[1] Ibn Hazm supports this view, stating that ʿUthmān changed nothing and continued to allow its recitation in seven styles. He adds that ʿUthmān sought to unify the Muslims and provide them with written copies to correct the mistakes that some *qurrā'* had made in their personal manuscripts and to make his copy a reference for all Muslims.[2] Ibn al-Bāqillānī supports this, stating that ʿUthmān's action stopped people from reciting the Qur'an in inauthentic ways and interpolating explanatory material. He adds that neither ʿUthmān nor any other Muslim leader could make difficult for the Muslims that which the Prophet had made easy for them. Moreover, he says that the people did not differ about the famous and authentic styles of recitation, but only about isolated readings.[3]

Another group of scholars states that ʿUthmān compiled his copy in only one recitation style and abandoned the rest.[4] Al-Ṭabarī argues for this, stating that Muslims were permitted, not obliged, to recite the Qur'an in seven styles. He adds that when ʿUthmān learned of the intra-Muslim disputes over the Qur'an's recitation, he decided, with the Ummah's consent, to unify them into one style of recitation.[5] Al-Ṭaḥāwī agrees, stating that seven recitation styles were needed because the largely illiterate Muslims found it difficult to change their habits. He adds that when their dialects more closely resembled that of the Prophet and when more people could

write, ʿUthmān ordered them to recite the Qur'an in only one style.[6] Al-Qurṭubī attributes this view to Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Wahb, al-Ṭabarī, al-Ṭaḥāwī, Ibn ʿAbd al-Bārr, and many other scholars.[7]

Finally, the copies are said to contain as much of the seven recitation styles as can be accommodated by the Qur'an's orthography, according to the final revealed version.[8] This view is attributed to most scholars. Thus, the copies include an undefined number of recitation styles, certainly more than one but not all seven of them.[9] Ibn al-Jazarī opts for this view, using al-Ṭabarī's argument.[10] Al-ʿAsqalānī agrees, stating that the copies contain an unspecified number of the seven acceptable recitation styles. He gives an example: *min* (Qur'an 9:100) exists in Makkah's copy but is omitted in those sent to the other cities.[11] Abū Shāmah quotes al-Mahdawī as agreeing with this view, considers it the sounder one, and attributes it to the eminent scholars.[12] Indeed, this last view seems to be the most likely and acceptable, since indications of more than one recitation style exist in the copies, as al-ʿAsqalānī has pointed out.[13]

Those who agree that the copies include only one recitation style or an unspecified number of recitation styles differ on the issue of their abrogation and whether this took place during the Prophet's lifetime (a view attributed to most scholars) or at the time of ʿUthmān's compilation. The reasoning here is that the Muslims were permitted, but not obligated, to keep each style. But when ʿUthmān learned of the resulting disputes he rescinded this permission.[14]

However, the existence of either seven or an unknown number of recitation styles does not necessarily mean that they were written down in the copies. Makkī ibn Abū Ṭālib al-Qaysī states: "The Qur'an was written in one *ḥarf* to minimize the difference (in recitation) among Muslims."[15] Al-Baghawī supports this, saying that this was according to the final revealed version.[16]

THE COPIES' ORTHOGRAPHY

The copies contained no vowels or diacritical points, and thus their orthography resembled the scripts from which it was derived. Some scholars, among them al-Dānī,[17] Ibn al-ʿArabī,[18] Ibn Taymiyyah,[19] and Ibn al-Jazarī,[20] maintain that this was done intentionally so that more than one recitation style could be accommodated. This view assumes that the Arabs who made these copies knew the appropriate vocalization and diacritics. Indeed, many authorities maintain that the Arabic letters had always possessed these features, or at least dotting (*iʿjām*).[21] To support this claim, we refer to two

documents that have been dated to the early first century AH/seventh century AC. The first one, dating from ʿUmar's reign in 22 AH/643 AC, contains some dotted letters: *khā'*, *dhāl*, *zā'*, *shīn*, and *nūn*.[22] The other document, dating from Muʿāwiyyah's reign in 58 AH/677 AC, comes from al-Ṭā'if and has dotted most of the letters that require dots.[23]

The copies remained unchanged until it was felt necessary to develop their orthography by introducing vocalization so that new non-Arab Muslims would not introduce mistakes into its recitation and would read it clearly with the correct final vowels.[24] During Muʿāwiyah's reign, Ziyād, the governor of Basrah, appointed Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī to introduce vocalization (*naqṭ al-iʿrāb*) into the copies' orthography.[25] Other narrations state that either Yaḥyā ibn Yaʿmur or Naṣr ibn ʿĀṣim was the first to do so.[26] However, al-Qalqashandī states that most scholars agree on Abū al-Aswad,[27] although his vocalization consisted merely of indicating the final vowels (*tanwīn*).[28]

The second step consisted of introducing the diacritical points (*naqṭ al-iʿjām*) during ʿAbd al-Mālik ibn Marwān's reign, who is said to have commanded al-Ḥajjāj (d. 95 AH/713 AC), the governor of Iraq, to appoint scholars to distinguish the letters. Naṣr ibn ʿĀṣim was one such scholar, and thus was the first to introduce diacritical points to make the copies easier to read.[29] Vocalization and diacritics alike consisted of dots distinguished by color: red for vocalization and black for diacritical points.[30] Many scholars objected, for they disapproved of any orthographic change or development[31] and because it was easier to read the Qur'an in its original form, since its recitation depends on the narrations.[32] Indeed, for a long time such people considered the use of these aids to be an insult.[33]

The third step in this development was undertaken by al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad (d. 170 AH/786 AC): a new system of symbols (*ḥarakāt*). This was not applied immediately, for the scribes disliked what they called "the diacritical points associated with poetry" (*naqṭ al-shiʿr*) and were unwilling to use it in place of Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī's system, which they were used to and regarded as the way of the Salaf (the Pious Ancestors).[34]

However, Al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad's system of symbols eventually dominated and replaced that of Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī.[35] In addition, he introduced the signs for a glottal stop (*hamz*), doubling of a consonant (*tashdīd*), expressing a wish or a desire (*rawm*), and pronouncing a *u* with a trace of *i* (*ishmām*).[36] The Qur'an's consonantal spelling remained unaltered because most scholars argued that it should remain as it had come down from the Companions and that it was revealed in a fixed order (*tawqīf*).[37] Abū

ʿUbayd, Mālik ibn Anas, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, and al-Bayhaqī also objected to any such change,[38] as did al-Zamakhsharī, who states that "the *maṣāḥif*'s orthography is *sunnah* and should not be changed."[39] Islamic institutions have supported this view to our own day, for all copies are printed according to the traditional orthography.[40]

However, some scholars have argued that this orthography is convention and that people may write their copy in accordance with the new orthography. Ibn al-Bāqillānī supports this view, stating that there is no evidence from the Qur'an, the Sunnah, consensus, or analogy, and that there is no fixed way of writing. Thus any orthography that gives the correct recitation and is easy to follow is permitted.[41] Ibn Khaldūn agrees for the following reasons: The art of orthography is merely conventional and was imperfect when the various materials were brought together and compiled, that there is no sound reason for retaining the old orthography or for not using the new system.[42]

Al-ʿIzz ibn ʿAbd al-Salām maintains that the new orthography is not only permitted but that it is acutally necessary (*wājib*), so that uneducated people will avoid mistakes.[43] Al-Zarkashī, who chose this view, adds that the ʿUthmānic orthography should be preserved as a precious inheritance.[44] Al-Marāghī states that he agrees with this view and, like al-ʿIzz ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, prefers to write the verses cited in his commentary according to the new orthography because the people of his time need it more than those who lived at Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām's time.[45]

However, according to the general belief, the orthography should not be altered, since, as Ibn al-Jazarī says, it accommodates the variant recitations of the Qur'an in accordance with its revelation in seven styles.[46] Al-Dānī states that the differences arising from preserving or omitting certain letters and words is due to the need to preserve all of the styles of recitation revealed to the Prophet and received by the Companions.[47]

The most practical way of dealing with this may be that adopted in certain copies intended for learners: Those words that differ in writing from the contemporary orthography are explained in the margins.[48] This system helps new non-Arab Muslims avoid mistakes while preserving the inherited orthography.[49]

Ibn Abū Dāwūd attributes the introduction of certain consonantal and orthographical modifications in 11 places to al-Ḥajjāj, as follows:

1. 2:259: *Yatasanna* was changed to *yatasannah*.
2. 5:48: *Sharīʿatan* was changed to *shirʿatan*.

3. 10:22: *Yanshurukum* was changed to *yusayyirukum*.
4. 12:45: *'Atīkum* was changed to *'unabbi'ukum*.
5. 23:58-59: *Lillah* occurs three times, the last two times being changed to *Allāh*.
6. 26:116: *Al-mukhrajīn* was changed to *al-marjūmīn*.
7. 26:167: *Al-marjūmīn* was changed to *al-mukhrajīn*.
8. 43:32: *Ma'ā'ishahum* was changed to *ma'īshatahum*.
9. 47:15: *Yāsin* was changed to *āsin*.
10. 57:7: *Ittaqaw* was changed to *antaqū*.
11. 81:24: *Zanīn* was changed to *danīn*.[50]

However, this report is considered unauthentic for several reasons. First, its chain is not sound, since the author cites an unnamed book by his father and two obscure and unacceptable transmitters.[51] Second, Ibn Abū Dāwūd is the only source, and his scholarship was discredited by his own father.[52] Third, al-Ḥajjāj would have opposed him, in his time or later, if he had made the alleged modifications.[53] Fourth, Ibn Abū Dāwūd says, on the same page, that 'Abd Allāh ibn Ziyād asked Yazīd al-Fārisī to add the letter *alif* in the middle and at the end of *qālū* and *kānū*. This would have resulted in adding 2,000 *alifs* to the copy.[54] Al-Ḥajjāj objected to this, even though the text's meaning would not have been altered. This makes it more unlikely that he would have made any innovations on his own.

In any case, Ibn Mas'ūd recited *lillāh* in three places in Qur'an 23:58-59, while the Iraqis recited *lillāh* in the first place and *Allāh* in the other two.[55] In the *mushaf al-imām* and the copy of Basrah, *Allāh* was recited in the first two occasions and *lillāh* in the third.[56] Thus, since all of these variations existed before al-Ḥajjāj's time, he could have had no role in any alteration. In fact, references show that all of these spellings given by al-Dānī predate al-Ḥajjāj. Finally, if al-Ḥajjāj's aim was to correct acknowledged errors in the text, we would not expect any of these spellings to be preserved in the accepted styles of recitation, as, in fact, they are.

Some of the *qurrā'* accept the examples given above in both forms, such as the first one, while others do not (as in Qur'an 26:116 and 167, which are not found in any source). However, these words do not seem to have been dotted before al-Ḥajjāj's time. Thus, their recitations were governed only by transmission, and al-Ḥajjāj can only be credited with introducing the diacritical points throughout the Qur'anic text, not only in these particular examples. The copy continued to be recited according to the transmission, and the vocalization and dotting were in accordance with this.

Jeffery, who regards this supposed consonantal and orthographical modification as "an entirely new recension of the Qur'an," maintains that "this new text promulgated by al-Ḥajjāj seems to have undergone more or less extensive alterations."[57] Indeed, he exaggerates al-Ḥajjāj's role, as stated in *Kitāb* al-*Maṣāḥif*,[58] so much that he actually claims that "if this is so, our textus receptus is not based on the recension of ʿUthmān but on that of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf."[59] However, al-Ḥajjāj only sanctioned the diacritical points introduced by the scholars whom he had appointed for the purpose.[60] He sent copies of the ʿUthmānic writ to the metropolitan cities, including Egypt, whose governor (ʿAbd al-ʿAziz ibn Marwān) was insulted to receive one, for he felt that he had no need for it.[61] Thus, the only thing that can be attributed to al-Ḥajjāj is the addition of the diacritical points based upon the scholars' suggestions. (Al-Ḥajjāj himself was commanded by ʿAbd al-Mālik ibn Marwān).[62]

After the introduction of vocalization and diacritical points, the next step was the addition of surah titles with an indication of their beginnings and endings,[63] the place of their revelation,[64] and a sign consisting of three dots at the end of each verse.[65] Furthermore, the verses were divided into portions of fives (*akhmās*) and tens (*ashʿār*),[66] and then the text was divided into thirty parts (*ajzāʾ*), each part (*juz'*) into two divisions (*ḥizb*), and each division into four sections (*arbāʿ*).[67] In addition, different colored signs were introduced to indicate all of these innovations. But as they had to be made by hand, a problem arose when the copies of the ʿUthmānic writ began to be printed by printing presses.[68] Moreover, more signs were placed in the printed copies, such as those for the six kinds of pauses (*awqāf al-tilāwah*) and for the pause needed for prostrating after a specific verse in one's recitation (*sajdat al-tilāwah*). These signs were initiated by the Egyptian editorial committees and followed by other committees.[69]

The copies' calligraphy remained in the *kūfī* calligraphical form until the late fourth century AH/tenth century AC,[70] when other calligraphic styles appeared, such as *thuluth* and then *naskh*, which eventually dominated.[71] *Naskh* is considered the most beautiful calligraphical copy for the Qur'anic copies. Other kinds, like *ruqʿah*, *diwānī*, *tārisī*, *siyāqah*, and *shikastah*, are unsuitable because the rules dictate that they should not be vocalized, while the Qur'anic copies should be vocalized so that the reciter will not make any errors.[72]

The first printed copy, produced in Venice in 1530, was not distributed because the church authorities had it destroyed immediately.[73] The next printed copies appeared in Hamburg (1649); in Padua (1698) in two large

volumes under Marracci's supervision; in St. Petersburgh (1787, 1790, and 1798) under Mawlānā 'Uthmān's supervision; and in Kazan (1803, 1819, and 1839).[74] It was printed lithographically for the first time in Tehran (1828) and again in Tabriz (1833).[75] Thereafter, under Flügel's supervision, editions appeared in Leipzig (1834, 1842, and 1870); in India (between 1280-81 AH/1863-65 AC) under the supervision of Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Makhdūm and Mawlawī Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ and later revised by Shaykh Mawlawī Maḥbūb 'Alī.

The first Turkish printed edition appeared in 1297 AH/1879 AC in the calligraphy of Ḥāfiẓ 'Uthmān.[76] The first copy printed in perfect accordance with the 'Uthmānic orthography was published in Egypt in 1308 AH/1866 AC under Shaykh Riḍwān ibn Muḥammad al-Mukhallilātī's supervision.[77] The first edition printed under the supervision of the Mashyakhat al-Azhar and the committee appointed by King Fu'ād appeared in 1337 AH/1918 AC. Reedited and republished several times, it is unanimously considered the best one.[78]

However, all these were printed according to the style of recitation style of Ḥafṣ as narrated from 'Āṣim, which is the common style throughout the Muslim world. The edition according to the recitation style of Warsh as narrated from Nāfi' appeared for the first time in 1349 AH/1930 AC in Egypt.[79] Various editions have been printed in *kūfī* or standard *naskh* in Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, and, recently, in Libya. This recitation is, after Ḥafṣ, the second most common one and is the common style of recitation in North and West Africa and in some parts of Sudan and Egypt. The third most common style in some parts of North Africa is that of Qālūn as narrated from Nāfi'. The first printed version of it appeared in Tunisia in 1401 AH/1981 AC and then in Libya. Finally, the Qur'an was printed for the first time according to the style of recitation of al-Dūrī as narrated from Abū 'Amr in Sudan in 1398 AH/1978 AC. This is the most common style of recitation in Sudan and is used in parts of Egypt and Chad.

These four copies of the Qur'anic text represent the common styles of recitation for public purposes in the Islamic world today. However, the remaining canonical styles of recitation are known to many reciters who have graduated from the institutes of al-Azhar, Sudan, and many others who specialize in this field. At the present time, new means of recording have been introduced for Qur'an studies, and all canonical styles of recitation have been recorded orally by famous leading *qurrā'* in Egypt.[80]

In conclusion, the copies ordered by ʿUthmān include more than one style of recitation and whatever the orthography could accommodate of the seven accepted styles of recitation. As a result, the ʿUthmānic writ corresponds perfectly with the final revealed version of the Qur'an. The written text has been recorded according to one style of recitation, and permission to use the other styles is given only for purposes of recitation (provided that it is read as it has been taught). The early copies were not vocalized or dotted, and such new practices were introduced in stages, first by Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī, who was asked to carry out the task when mistakes began to appear, and then during ʿAbd al-Mālik ibn Marwān's reign in order to make recitation easier. The original orthography has remained unchanged. The printed copies of the Qur'an that we have today represent the four dominant styles of recitation: those of Ḥafṣ, Warsh, Qālūn, and al-Dūrī.

CHAPTER 4

The ʿUthmānic Writ and the Personal Codices

Many recitations attributed to the Companions differ from the ʿUthmānic writ and are still found in old books of Qur'anic commentary and anomalous recitations (*al-qirā'āt al-shādhdhah*).[1] These divergent readings are classified below.

CATEGORIES OF DIVERGENT READINGS

ADDING AND OMITTING CERTAIN SURAHS

It is related that Ubayy ibn Kaʿb added the two surahs of *qunūt*[2] to his personal copy, and that Ibn Masʿūd omitted three surahs from his: *Al-Fātiḥah* and the *Muʿawwidhatān* (the two final surahs).[3] Not all scholars agree with these claims:

1. One group of scholars considers the story untrue and fabricated.[4]
2. Another explanation is that Ubayy and Ibn Masʿūd were confused, since they first heard the Prophet recite *qunūt* in the prayers, particularly in the *witr* prayer, the most important *sunnah* after the obligatory five daily prayers. Ubayy believed that they were from the Qur'an while Ibn Masʿūd thought that these last two surahs were not, because he saw the Prophet recite them as an incantation for [his grandsons] al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn.[5] However, some scholars reject this interpretation. The author of *Kitāb al-Mabānī* states that Ubayy's profound knowledge of the Qur'an would have enabled him to distinguish between what is part of the Qur'an and what is not. This is supported by the fact that his transmission of recitation to the *a'immah* (leading experts in recitation) does not mention that he taught them *qunūt* as part of the Qur'an.[6] Ibn

al-Bāqillānī suggests that Ubayy might have written *qunūt* on the back of his personal codice as a *du'ā'*, "as we do on our *maṣāḥif*."[7] Moreover, he devotes a special chapter to the stylistic differences between the Qur'an and the Prophet's sayings.[8] On this basis, he concludes that the Companions were fully capable of distinguishing between what is and what is not part of the Qur'an and that they knew how many surahs it contained.[9] Indeed, many authorities confirm that what is attributed to Ubayy is no more than the *du'ā' al-qunūt*.[10]

3. Some scholars maintain that Ibn Mas'ūd did not write these surahs because all Muslims, even the children, had memorized them. Thus there was no fear that they might be forgotten. Otherwise, as the author of *Kitāb al-Mabānī* states, how could he, with his vast knowledge, be unaware of the Qur'an's most famous, most widely known, and easiest surahs?[11] However, Ibn al-Anbārī rejects this view on the grounds that Ibn Mas'ūd's personal copy contained such short surahs as *al-Kawthar* (108), *al-Naṣr* (110), and *al-Ikhlās* (112), which are similar in length to *al-Mu'awwidhatān*.[12] However, he says that it is understandable for Ibn Mas'ūd not to write *al-Fātiḥah*, which could not be forgotten, because it is recited in all prayers and cycle of prostrations.[13] This is supported by Ibn Mas'ūd: "If I had written it, I would have written it with every surah," meaning, as Ibn al-Anbārī interprets it, that part of the Qur'an is recited during every prayer and that it must be preceded by *al-Fātiḥah*.[14]

4. The author of *Kitāb al-Mabānī* states that Ibn Mas'ūd may have omitted these surahs because he wanted to write only what he heard directly from the Prophet.[15] However, this seems to be unsound, for Ibn Mas'ūd asserted: "I have been taught 70 surahs directly from the mouth of the Prophet,"[16] which indicates that he learned the remaining surahs from other Companions. Thus, his copy contains what he learned from both sources.

5. Al-Qurṭubī writes that Yazīd ibn Hārūn reported that Ibn Mas'ūd died before he had memorized all of the surahs. However, al-Qurṭubī objects,[17] saying that this view has no evidence to support it. The alleged exclusion of these surahs does not mean that Ibn Mas'ūd did not memorize them, for they are, after all, among the Qur'an's shortest and easiest surahs.

6. Furthermore, Ibn al-Bāqillānī states that all of these narrations are isolated reports that should not be regarded as reliable. In addition, he considers all of the differences attributed to Ibn Mas'ūd as false and related

by ignorant people, although he does not deny that Ibn Mas'ūd, like any other *ḥafiẓ*, might make some mistakes in certain styles of recitation. He adds that if Ibn Mas'ūd denied these final two surahs, the resulting dispute with the Companions would have become widely known, since lesser quarrels have been reported to us. Also, he says that the agreement of the Companions on the Qur'an's compilation cannot be impugned by these anomalous invented narrations.[18]

Finally, many hadiths refer to these surahs' position,[19] the story behind their revelation,[20] and, above all, to their recitation by the Prophet while at home and traveling.[21] All of these indicate that Ibn Mas'ūd was aware of them. Thus, the narrations attributed to Ubayy ibn Ka'b and 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd cannot be regarded as authentic.

THE INTERPOLATION OF EXPLANATORY MATERIAL

The interpolation of explanatory material, consisting of one or more words, into the Qur'anic text is attributed to some of the Companions' personal codices. For example:

1. Ibn al-Zubayr added ويستعينون بالله على ما أصابهم (*wa yasta'īnūna bi Allāh 'alā mā aṣābahum*)[22] after كنتم خير أمة أخرجت للناس تأمرون بالمعروف وتنهون عن المنكر (*kuntum khayr ummah ukhrijat li al-nās ta'murūna bi al-ma'rūf wa tanhawna 'an al-munkar*) (3:110). The author of *Kitāb al-Maḥānī* says that this addition, if accepted as authentic, is certainly a gloss by Ibn al-Zubayr and his own words, and that it was incorporated into the text by some narrators who were confused. He supports this assertion by stating that these same words were attributed to 'Uthmān, which suggests that he recited them while preaching only to explain and not as part of the Qur'an (since otherwise he would have added them to his own copy [*muṣḥaf al-imām*]).[23]
2. Ibn 'Abbās added من نفسي (*min nafsī*) after ان الساعة آتية أكاد أخفيها (*inna al-sā'ah ātīyah akādu ukhfīhā*) (20:15).[24] This is also attributed to Ubayy ibn Ka'b, along with من نفسي فكيف أطلعكم عليها (*min nafsī fakayfa uṭli'kum 'alayhā*).[25] The author of *Kitāb al-Maḥānī* states that if the addition is regarded as authentic, it is an explanatory addition that certain confused narrators incorporated into the text. Furthermore, this narration's chain of transmission to Ubayy is interrupted (*maqṭū'*), and the transmission

of the recitation from Ubayy to Abū ʿAmr and Ibn Kathīr invalidates it.[26]

3. ʿAlī added ونوائب الدهر (*wa nawā'ib al-dahr*) immediately after *wa al-ʿaṣr*.[27] The author of *Kitāb al-Mabānī* argues that this attribution is invalid on the grounds that Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī's (the transmitter of the recitation from ʿAlī, his close student, and teacher of [his sons] al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn) recitation corresponds to that of the *muṣḥaf al-imām*, which does not contain this addition. Moreover, if this attribution were authentic, ʿAlī would have incorporated it into the text instead of abandoning it, since doing so would have decreased the reciter's reward and alter a meaning desired by Allah. This suggests that the narrator either lied or forgot. In addition, we must take into account the Muslims' unanimous agreement on the *muṣḥaf al-imām*, so that if anyone alleges a single addition or omission that contradicts the consensus, it is just like claiming that there are 50 obligatory prayers, that marrying nine wives is allowed, or that fasting more than the month of Ramadan is a duty.[28]

4. Saʿd ibn Abū Waqqāṣ added من أم (*min umm*) after وله أخ أو أخت (*wa lahu akh aw ukht*) (4:12).[29] Al-Suyūṭī points out that this addition is considered commentary.[30] However, it is unanimously agreed that it is correct.[31]

5. Ubayy ibn Kaʿb added ولو حميتم كما حموا لصد المسجد الحرام (*wa law ḥamītum kamā ḥamū li ṣad al-masjid al-ḥarām*) to اذ جعل الذين كفروا في قلوبهم الحمية حمية الجاهلية (*idh jaʿala alladhīna kafarū fī qulūbihim al-ḥamiyyah al-jāhiliyyah*) (48:26).[32] ʿUmar objected and asked Zayd to recite it. He did so, according to the general recitation, after which ʿUmar agreed with Zayd. Ubayy defended his recitation, and ʿUmar agreed to let him read it accordingly.[33] The author of *Kitāb al-Mabānī* questions this report as one that cannot be reconciled with the Qur'an, which was preserved and transmitted from the Prophet. In addition, Ubayy might have reported this recitation before its abrogation, particularly before the final revealed version. This is supported by the transmission of a recitation from Ubayy to Abū Jaʿfar, Ibn Kathīr, and Abū ʿAmr, who transmitted from Ubayy how to recite when faced with prolongation (*madd*) and doubling (*shadd*) but did not report this addition. He also points out that it differs from the Qur'an stylistically and asks how ʿUmar could have been unaware of it, since he had heard this surah directly from the Prophet at Ḥudaybiyyah.[34]

6. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd added متتابعات (*mutatābiʿāt*) to فصيام ثلاثة أيام (*fa ṣiyām thalāthah ayyām*) (5:89).[35] Al-Ghazālī argues that this recitation differs

from the copies of the ʿUthmānic writ, belongs to Ibn Masʿūd, and is not successive. Therefore, it is not part of the Qur'an and should be considered as no more than Ibn Masʿūd's interpretation of the verse and of his *madhhab* (Islamic legal school). Al-Ghazālī quotes Abū Ḥanīfah as adopting this interpretation as *wājib* (obligation). Although Abū Ḥanīfah did not accept this addition as part of the Qur'an, he accepted it as an isolated report having sufficient evidence for practice. Nevertheless, al-Ghazālī objects to this claim, concluding that it is unacceptable even as an isolated report for practice because it has not been reported as a *sunnah* heard from the Prophet.[36]

7. Among the successors, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī added الورود الدُّخول (*al-wurūd al-dukhūl*) to وان منكم الا واردها (*wa in minkum illā wāriduhā*) (19:71).[37] Al-Suyūṭī quotes Ibn al-Anbārī as saying that this addition is al-Ḥasan's own interpretation of *al-wurūd*, but that some narrators mistakenly incorporated it into the text.[38] Concerning this general problem, Ibn al-Jazarī points out that the Companions may have written interpretations in their personal copies, but that they knew what was part of the Qur'an and what was not. He also states that they did not allow the Qur'an to be recited according to its meaning as opposed to its literal text.[39] Finally, Abū Ḥayyan maintains that most of the recitations attributed to Ibn Masʿūd are suspected of being Shīʿah inventions.[40]

WORD ORDER DIFFERENCES

In this context, Abū Bakr read وجاءت سكرة الحق بالموت (*wa jāʾat sakrah al-ḥaqq bi al-mawt*) while the compiled copy used وجاءت سكرة الموت بالحق (*wa jāʾat sakrah al-mawt bi al-ḥaqq*) (50:19).[41] Although some scholars quote it as an example of one of the seven accepted styles of recitation,[42] ʿĀʾishah reported that she heard her father Abū Bakr recite this verse, as it occurs in the compiled copy, during his final illness.[43] Another example of this is the statement that Ibn ʿAbbās recited اذا جاء فتح الله والنصر (*idhā jāʾa fatḥ Allāh wa al-naṣr*) instead of اذا جاء نصر الله والفتح (*idhā jāʾa naṣr Allāh wa al-fatḥ*) (110:1).[44] However, he is reported to have interpreted this surah and read it in accordance with the compiled copy.[45]

CHANGING THE WORDS' CONSONANTAL OUTLINES WITHOUT CHANGING THEIR MEANING

Ibn Masʿūd read صيحة (*ṣayḥah*) (36:29) as زقية (*zaqiyyah*). Some scholars cite this as an example of one of the seven accepted styles of recitation.[46]

However, they maintain that this recitation was eventually forbidden due to the abrogation of certain recitation styles.[47] ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd recited كالمهن (*kālʿihun*) (101:5) as كالصوف (*kaṣṣūf*),[48] ʿUmar recited فامضوا (*fāmḍū*) (62:9) as فاسعوا (*fasʿaw*),[49] and Ubayy recited *lilladhīna āmanū anẓurūnā* (57:13) as للذين امنوا امهلونا ... أخّرونا ... ارقبونا (*illadhīna āmanū amhalunā ... akhkhirūnā ... arqabūnā*).[50] Scholars have mentioned these reports as examples of an abrogated style of recitation.[51]

CHANGING THE WORDS' CONSONANTAL OUTLINE AND MEANING

ʿAlī recited وطلح (*wa ṭalḥin*) (56:29) as وطلع (*wa ṭalʿin*).[52] However, some scholars present this as an example of an abrogated style of recitation.[53]

In all of these cases, as seen in chapter 3, it is arguable whether a certain style of recitation was abrogated during the Prophet's lifetime or whether the permission to use it was rescinded when ʿUthmān issued the official copy.[54] Also, these synonyms may be fictitious. Whatever the case, however, the recitation was not left to individual choice but was subject to the narration.

As regards the additional interpretations attributed to personal codices, Goldziher doubts that they were part of the original text. Rather, he maintains that whether they were original or not remains unknown and that they were allowed into the text only as interpretations.[55] On the same page, however, he contradicts himself by stating that some later scholars consider them part of the text. He supports this view by arguing that the Companions permitted such additional interpretations to be written in the compiled copy, provided that they were not regarded as part of the Qur'an.[56] However, these additional interpretations are not part of the original Qur'anic text and are not to be confused with the compiled copy, since it was stated clearly that they could be used only as commentary.[57]

Overall, 123 differences have been mentioned between the ʿUthmānic writ and the Companions' personal codices. In nine places, two, three, or four personal codices agree with the ʿUthmānic writ. But this is the maximum extent of agreement among them. Furthermore, Ibn Masʿūd is the sole reference for 102 of these 123 differences.[58]

The Qur'an contains over 77,000 words and, therefore, the number of words in the personal codices that differed from the ʿUthmānic writ is very small.[59] In this connection, al-Jāḥiẓ remarks:

> Verily, certain people cast doubt on the Qur'an's trustworthiness and search for an addition or omission in it without the Prophet's consent and

the Companions' consensus. However, if someone had inserted a poetic verse in Abū al-Shāmaqmaq's poetry, he would have been notorious among the transmitters (*ruwāt*). So how about the Book of Allah Almighty, which is transmitted in successive (*tawātur*) and sound chains and is recited day and night?[60]

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE COPIES SENT TO THE CITIES

The copies sent by 'Uthmān differed in certain styles of recitation regarding the addition or omission of certain letters or particles. For example, the Kufan copy differs from that of Basrah in five styles of recitation. For example, in 21:4 it contains قَالَ (*qāl*), while that of Basrah has قُلْ (*qul*). Also, the Madinan copy differs from those of Iraq in twelve styles of recitation. For example, in 2:132 it says وأوصى (*wa awṣā*), while the ones from Iraq have ووصّى (*wa waṣṣā*).

Finally, the copies sent to Damascus and Iraq differ in 40 instances. For example, in 5:54 we find يَرْتَدِدْ (*yartadid*), while in the latter we find يَرْتَدَّ (*yartadda*).[61] However, all but two of these are differences that occur in letters; the two exceptions differ in particles. The first one is in 9:100, where من (*min*) is found in the Makkan copy but not in the others.[62] The second example is in 7:23, where هو (*huwa*) is omitted from the copies of Madinah and Damascus but appears in the rest of the copies.[63] The differences of letters can be classified into various categories:

1. Morphological change: وأوصى (*wa awṣā*) and ووصّى (*wa waṣṣā*) (2:132); يَرْتَدِدْ (*yartadid*) and يَرْتَدَّ (*yartadda*) (5:54).
2. Replacement of conjunction: فَلَا يَخَافُ (*fa lā yakhāfu*) and وَلَا يَخَافُ (*wa lā yakhāfu*) (91:15); and أَوْ أَنْ يُظْهِرَ (*aw an yuẓhira*) and وَ أَنْ يُظْهِرَ (*wa an yuẓhira*) (40:26).
3. Omission of conjunction: يَقُولُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا (*yaqūlu alladhīna āmanū*) and وَيَقُولُ (*wa yaqūlu*) (5:53).
4. Consonantal difference: يَنشُرُكُمْ (*yanshurukum*) and يُسَيِّرُكُمْ (*yusayyirukum*) (10:22).
5. Omission of pronoun suffix: وَمَا عَمِلَتْهُ (*wa mā 'amilathu*) and وَمَا عَمِلَتْ (*wa mā 'amilat*) (36:35).
6. Grammatical change : ذُو الْجَلَالِ (*dhū al-jalāli*) and ذَا الْجَلَالِ (*dhā al-jalāli*) (55:78).

7. Singular and dual alternation: حَتَّى إِذَا جَاءَانَا (*ḥattā idhā jāʾānā*) and جَاءَنَا (*jāʾanā*) (43:38).
8. Singular and plural alternation: حَقَّتْ كَلِمَاتُ رَبِّكَ (*ḥaqqat kalimātu rabbika*) and كَلِمَةُ (*kalimatu*) (10:33).
9. Verbal change: قَالَ سُبْحَانَ رَبِّي (*qāla subḥāna rabbī*) and قُلْ (*qul*) (17:93).

Al-Dānī maintains that all of these differences are correct and authentic, for they were revealed and heard directly from the Prophet. He adds that when ʿUthmān compiled his writ and made the copies, he could not accommodate all these recitations in one copy, and so he distributed them.[64] Moreover, the author of *Kitāb al-Mabānī*, after studying all such examples linguistically, concludes that they are correct and sound. In addition, he states that these differences were made intentionally in order to substantiate all of the accepted styles of recitation revealed to and heard from the Prophet.[65]

Thus, research confirms that the personal codices said to have belonged to certain Companions and their Successors have been transmitted in unauthentic chains, differ from each other, and contradict the ʿUthmānic writ. Additional interpolations are no more than explanatory material that those who had personal codices, added to the Qur'anic text, because they were incapable of confusing such material with the original Qur'anic text. The reports that ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd omitted the first and the last two surahs from his copy, and that Ubayy ibn Kaʿb wrote *al-qunūt* as a surah in his copy, are groundless.

Finally, the ʿUthmānic copies are reported to have differed in certain letters or particles (e.g., adding or omitting certain letters), except in two places where *huwa* and *min* are sometimes included and sometimes omitted. All of these accounts have authentic transmissions and have been proven by linguistic studies to be acceptable and fluent Arabic at the time of the Qur'an's revelation.

CHAPTER 5

The Language of the Qur'an

This chapter discusses what type of Arabic the Qur'anic text, with its variant recitations, represents. Rather than undertake a thorough grammatical and lexicographical analysis of the Qur'an, we examine the information provided by classical Arab scholars as well as the theories of modern scholars to determine whether this represents Qurayshī Arabic, standard Arabic or a poetic *koine* that reflects Hijāzī features, or if it contains material from the Quayshī and other Arabic dialects. Although the available data allows only a tentative conclusion, the discussion will provide a better understanding of the seven acceptable styles of recitation.

The Qur'an refers to the language of its revelation as Arabic, without reference to a particular Arabic dialect. For example:

1. We have sent it down as an Arabic Qur'an in order that you may learn wisdom. (12:2)
2. Now, behold, this [divine writ] has indeed been bestowed from on high by the Sustainer of all the worlds: trustwothy divine inspiration [brought by Jibril] has alighted with it from on high upon your heart, [O Muhammad,] so that you may be among those who preach in the clear Arabic tongue. (26:192-95)
3. [It is] a Qur'an in Arabic without any crookedness [therein] in order that they may guard against evil. (39:28)
4. A book whereof the verses are explained in detail – a Qur'an in Arabic for people who understand. (41:3)
5. We have made it a Qur'an in Arabic that you may be able to understand [and learn wisdom]. (43:3)

Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 328 AH/939 AC) states that the Qur'an was revealed in the most eloquent, purest, and clearest language of the Arabs: "We have made it a Qur'an in Arabic that you may be able to understand [and learn wisdom]" (43:3). In 41:44 Allah says: "Had We sent this as a Qur'an [in a language] other than Arabic, they would have exclaimed: 'Why are not its verses explained in detail? What! [A Book] not in Arabic and [a Messenger not] an Arab?' Say: 'It is a guide and healing to those who believe.'"[1] The Qur'an includes no reference to any particular dialect; however, the *sunnah* contains a few relevant statements attributed to certain Companions:

1. ʿUthmān told the committee appointed by him to compile the Qur'an, all of whom were Qurayshī except for Zayd ibn Thābit, that: "If you disagree with Zayd ibn Thābit on any point in the Qur'an, write it in the dialect of Quraysh, as the Qur'an was revealed in their tongue."[2] He also said this when the scribes differed over whether to write *al-tābūt* with a final *hā'* or *tā'*. Eventually it was written with a final *tā'*, in accord with the Qurayshī dialect.[3]
2. ʿUmar wrote to Ibn Masʿūd that the Qur'an had been revealed in the Qurayshī tongue and that he should teach people accordingly, not according to the language of the Hudhayl tribe.[4] He also said that the scribes who make the copies should be only from the Quraysh and the Thaqīf tribes.[5]
3. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd preferred the scribes to be from the Muḍar tribe.[6]

Most classical and contemporary scholars agree that the Qur'an was revealed in the Qurayshī dialect (*lughah*). However, what is meant by *lughah* is not always clear. Does it refer to an actual dialect in the full sense of the term, or to a Qurayshī version of a standard literary language that exhibits certain Qurayshī features as regards its phonology, morphology and vocabulary? Some scholars have claimed that classical Arabic (*fuṣḥā*) is identical to Qurayshī speech.

Ancient scholars used *lughah* in different contexts to mean *lahjah* (dialect), as Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlā' did when he distinguished between *lughah* and *ʿarabiyyah* (the latter is that which agreed with the majority, while he called that which did not agree with them *lughāt*).[7] In this connection, al-Farrā' says about reciting one word as *iswah* or *uswah*: "*wa humā lughātān*" (They are no more than dialects).[8] Ancient scholars also used *lisān* (tongue) to mean *lughah*, which may be interpreted as *lahjah*

(dialect), and interpreted *laḥn* to mean *lughah* (*lahjah*).[9] Sībawayh, however, used *lughah* to mean an acceptable form of *'arabiyyah*. For example, he says: "*Lughah li ahl al-Ḥijāz wa hiya 'arabiyyah jā'izah*"[10] ("[It is] the *lughah* of the people of Ḥijāz, and it is permissible Arabic.") and "*Wa hiya al-lughah al-'arabiyyah al-qadīmah al-jayyidah*" ("It is good, ancient Arabic *lughah*.").[11] According to the transmitters, *lughah* means exceptional and rare forms as well as differences in the word as to its meaning, morphology, and grammar.[12]

Modern Arab scholars define *lughah* and *lahjah* more carefully. Al-Ghamrāwī states that the dominant view of the philologists is that *lughat Quraysh* represents no more than a dialect of a common language, which is the existing Arabic language.[13] Hammudah, in his *Al-Qirā'āt wa al-Lahajāt*,[14] studies both terms using modern linguistic methodology and says that *lahjah* refers to pronunciation and phonetics.[15] This is mainly a matter of accent, although the term's meaning does encompass minor variations in word forms or meaning. In the following discussion, *lughah* will be defined as a form that is acceptable Arabic but not used by the majority. An important point is that early Arabic writers did not recognize our modern concept of dialect and that attempts (such as that of Rabin)[16] to reconstruct dialects are obscurist and likely to produce few results.

The view that the Qur'an has been revealed in the Qurayshī *lughah* (dialect) is based on the following arguments:

1. The first people addressed by the Qur'an were the Quraysh, who easily understood its language. In this connection, certain verses are quoted and interpreted in their favor: "We have sent an apostle only [to teach] in the language of his [own] people to make [things] clear to them," (14:4) and "And admonish your nearest kinsmen." (26:214)[17]
2. The Prophet was a Qurayshī and thus his sayings correspond to the Qur'anic language.[18]
3. The style of the sayings attributed to the Companions and their Qurayshī contemporaries is said to have agreed with the Qur'anic language.[19]
4. The consensus of all Arabs after Islam, as well as the agreement among the scholars, narrators, transmitters of hadith, and Qur'anic commentators, is that the Qur'an was revealed in the Qurayshī dialect and that, despite the quarrels and political disputes among the tribes and the existence of chauvinism on the part of the Ḥimyarites and non-Arabs, no objection to this dialect was ever raised.[20]

The Qurayshī language has this superior position because:

1. It is of high quality and fluency. The Prophet said: "I am the most eloquent of you, because I belong to the Quraysh and was brought up in Sa'd ibn Bakr (the tribe of Ḥalīmah, Muhammad's wetnurse)."[21] Qatādah writes that the Qurayshīs chose the best Arabic words and phrases so that, over time, their tongue became the best of all, and that, accordingly, the Qur'an was revealed in it.[22] Al-Fārābī says that they were the best when it came to choosing the most eloquent utterances: the easiest to pronounce and hear, and the clearest in expression.[23]

   The Qurayshīs are said to have acquired this superior Arabic language by communicating with other tribes during their conflicts and cultural gatherings at the annual 'Ukāẓ and other trade fairs. Also, the Arabs regularly visited Makkah for religious purposes and trade.[24] Ibn Fāris states in his *Al-Ṣāḥibī* that delegations visited Makkah for pilgrimages and other purposes, and that they would ask the Qurayshīs to arbitrate their disputes because of their eloquence and perfect language. Hence, the Qurayshīs would choose the best of the other tribes' speech patterns and poems and add them to their tongue. By doing so, and by enhancing their innate ability, they became the most eloquent Arabs.[25]

2. They were far away from neighboring non-Arab states. This distance, as Ibn Khaldūn puts it, protected them from non-Arab influences. According to philologists holding this view, the acceptability of an Arab dialect is in proportion to its speakers' proximity to the Quraysh.[26] Al-Suyūṭī quotes al-Fārābī as having pointed out that the philologists ignored those Arab tribes living near foreign nations.[27]

3. Third, the Quraysh were immune to the pronunciation defects attributed to other dialects. Abū al-'Abbās states in his *Majālis Tha'lab*[28] that the Quraysh had a high standard of fluency and thus did not have the *'an'anan* of Tamīm, the *kashkashah* of Rabī'ah, the *kaskasah* of Hawāzin, the *tadajju'* of Qays, the *'ajrafiyyah* of Ḍabbah, and the *taltalah* of Bahrā'. He gives examples only for *'an'anah* and *taltalah*. The first one involves changing *alif* to *'ayn*, as if to say *'anna 'abda Allāhi qā'imun* for *anna*, while the second one involves pronouncing the present-tense prefixes with *kasrah* (as in *ti'lamūna, ti'qilūna*, and *tisma'ūna*).[29]

Other sources also cited pronunciation defects in various tribal dialects, among them the *fahfahah* of Hudhayl (changing *hā'* to *'ayn*) and the *wakm*

and *wahm* of Kalb (changing the plural suffix *-kum* to *-kim* when the preceding vowel is *kasrah*: *ʿalaykim* and *bikim*). *Wahm* involves pronouncing *-hum* as *-him* in such contexts as *minhim*, *ʿanhim*, and *baynihim* in all cases. The *ʿajʿajah* of the Qudāʿah consists of changing the final *-ī* to *-ij*, as in substituting *tamīmij* for *tamīmī*. The *istinṭāʾ* of the Saʿd ibn Bakr, the Hudhayl, the Azd, the Qays, and the *Anṣār* involves changing *ʿayn* to *nūn* in the word *anṭā* for *aʿṭā*. In the Yemeni language, *watm* involves pronouncing *sīn* as *tā*, as in *al-nāt* for *al-nās*. The *lakhlakhāniyyah* of Shihr and Oman involves saying *masha Allah* for *māshāʾa Allāh*. The *ṭumṭumāniyyah* of Ḥimyar involves using the definite article *am* instead of *al*, as in *ṭāba am-hawāʾu* for *ṭāba al-hawāʾu*.[30]

Some of these features still exist, such as the *kashkashah* (i.e., pronouncing the feminine suffix *-ik* as *-ish*), which is still used in Ṣanʿāʾ and other parts of Yemen,[31] as well as the *ṭumṭumāniyyah*, which is said to still be in use in Ḥāshid, Arḥab, Khalwān, and other parts of Yemen. One hadith is quoted as using am (i.e., "*Laysa min am birri im siyāmu fī im safar*").[32]

The following factors contributed to the superior features of the Qurayshī language:

1. The Arabs made pilgrimages to Makkah, where the Quraysh served the Kaʿbah and the pilgrims and had custody of the Kaʿbah. Hence, they were favored and respected by all Arab tribes.[33]
2. The Quraysh were traders and merchants who traveled throughout Arabia, as well as to Shām and Yemen. Makkah itself was Arabia's commercial center: "For the covenants of (security and safeguard enjoyed) by the Quraysh. Their covenants (covering) journeys by winter and summer" (106:1-2).[34]
3. Subsequently, the Quraysh acquired political power and authority among other Arab tribes.[35] Abū Bakr addressed the *Anṣār* in the following words: "The Arabs only follow the Quraysh."[36]

Some modern scholars believe that the richness and purity of the Qurayshī language, as well as the tribes' political prestige, led to Qurayshī Arabic being accepted at an early date as Arabia's literary standard.[37] It was supposedly dominant long before Islam and became the language of Arab culture more than 100 or 150 years before the hijrah[38] (i.e., from about 500 AC). Hence, all Arabs regardless of tribal affiliation could understand the Qurʾan.[39]

Al-Rāfi'ī asserts that Arabic passed through three stages in its development toward fluency: It was developed by a single tribe, then by all tribes collectively, and then the Qurayshīs brought it to its final and most important stage of development. He argues that the Quraysh acquired this position because its members lived in the vicinity of the Ka'bah and met pilgrims, which allowed them to hear other people's speech and then select the best of other tongues. Al-Rāfi'ī concludes that it was almost miraculous that this development started when it did.[40]

However, certain scholars maintain that the Qur'an was not revealed only in the Qurayshī *lughah*, for its text has many non-Qurayshī features. For instance, certain Qurayshī Companions did not know the exact meaning of some Qur'anic words: 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās said: "I did not know the meaning of [*fāṭir* in] *fāṭir al-samāwāt* until I met two bedouins quarreling over a well. One of them said: '*Anā faṭartuhā* (I began [or started] it)."[41] Ibn 'Abbās said: "I did not know the meaning of *al-fattāḥ* until I heard Dhū Yazin's daughter saying to one of her opponents: '*Halumma fātiḥnī*' (come to arbitration with me). Then I knew it."[42] Abū Bakr and 'Umar did not know the meaning of *abb* in *wa fākihatan wa abban* (80:31).[43]

Early scholars composed several books and treatises on this issue, among them *Kitāb al-Lughāt fī al-Qur'ān* (Ibn Hasnūn's version on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās)[44] and *Mā Warad fī al-Qur'ān min Lughāt al-Qabā'il* (by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām).[45] Al-Nadīm states that al-Farrā', Abū Zayd, al-Asma'ī, al-Haytham ibn 'Adī, Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Qaṭī'ī, and Ibn Durayd wrote on *lughāt al-Qur'ān*.[46] In his *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufassirīn*,[47] al-Dāwūdī mentions that Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Baṣrī has a book on *lughāt al-Qur'ān*.[48] Both al-Zarkashī and al-Suyūṭī devote a chapter to this subject.[49] Al-Suyūṭī's chapter is based on the work of Abū 'Ubayd.

Many more examples show the existence of non-Qurayshī grammatical features in the Qur'an, such as *lughāt akalūnī al-Bārāghīth*: "*Wa asarrū al-najwā alladhīna ẓalamū*" (21:3) and "*Thumma 'amū wa ṣammū kathirun minhum*" (5:71). This ancient Semitic feature is found in the language of other Arab tribes, but not in that of the Quraysh.[50] Ibn al-Bāqillānī interprets 'Uthmān's statement about the Qur'an being revealed in the Qurayshī dialect as meaning that it was revealed mainly, but not entirely, in that dialect. Citing features that belong to other dialects, he says: "We have made it a Qur'an in Arabic" (43:3) refers to all Arabs. In addition, he states that whoever maintains that the Qur'an was revealed in a particular dialect should provide supporting evidence. He argues that if this were so, other

people would have said that it should be the Hāshimī tongue, since that tribe consists of the Prophet's nearest kinsmen.[51]

Ibn al-Bāqillānī quotes the words attributed to the Prophet: "I am the most eloquent of you, because I belong to Quraysh and was brought up in Sa'd ibn Bakr." He opines that that does not mean that the Qur'an was revealed in the Qurayshī language, for it could have been revealed in the most eloquent language of the Arabs and, according to the language of those whose language is not so eloquent, because all varieties of Arabic used in the Qur'an are eloquent. He accepts that most of its language is Qurayshī, but asserts that the Banū Tamīm had the most fluent and clearest recitation, that the Prophet accepted the Tamīm's *lughah* (dialect), and that he recited the Qur'an in the dialects of the Tamīm, the Khuzā'ah, and other tribes.[52]

Ibn 'Abd al-Bārr, who supports this view, points out that other tribal dialects exist in all of the recitations styles, such as the retention of *hamz* (while the Quraysh omit it).[53] Abū Shāmah quotes certain scholars as saying that the Qur'an was revealed not only in the Qurayshī tongue, but also in those of their neighbors who were fluent speakers, while the Arabs were allowed to recite it according to their dialects.[54] Furthermore, he comments that the Qur'an includes all Arab dialects because its revelation was for all Arabs, and that they were permitted to read it according to their own dialect. Thus, their recitations differed. He adds that when the copies of the 'Uthmānic writ were transcribed and sent to the major cities, these different recitations were abandoned, except for those whose *lughāt* (dialects) corresponded with the copies' orthography.[55]

According to Ibn Mālik, the Qur'an was revealed in the Ḥijāzī dialect, except for a few features that belong to the Tamīm tribe, such as *idghām* (assimilation): *wa man yushāqqi Allāha* (59:4) for the Qurayshī *yushāqiq*, which no one recited, and *wa man yartadda minkum* (2:217) for the Qurayshī *yartadid*. This Tamīmī style of assimilation occurs only rarely, while the Ḥijāzī practice of separating consonants occurs more frequently: *yartadid* (2:217), *wa al-yumlil* (2:282), *yuḥbibkum* (3:31), *yumdidkum* (71:12), *yushāqiq* (4:115 and 8:13), *yuḥādid* (9:63), *fa al-yumdid* (22:15), *wa aḥlul* (20:27), *isdud* (20:31), and *yaḥlil* (20:81).[56] Sībawayh considers this Ḥijāzī practice to be the best ancient Arabic.[57]

Moreover, all *qurrā'* unanimously recite *illā ittibā' al-zanni* (4:157) with *fatḥah*, as is done in the Ḥijāzī tongue, which uses *fatḥah* in this type of exception[58] (as opposed to the Tamīm, who use *ḍammah*). Sībawayh studied this type of exception in his *Hādhā Bābun Yukhtāru fīhi al-Naṣbu li'anna al-Ākhirah Laysa min Naw' al-Awwal wa Huwa Lughatu Ahl al-Ḥijāz*

(Preferring the Accusative because the Second Term Is Not in the Same Category as the First, and That Is the Dialect of the Ḥijāz), as opposed to the Tamīm, who use *ḍammah* (the nominative).[59] Thus we find *mā hādhā basharan* (12:31)[60] instead of the Tamīm's *mā hādhā basharun*. However, Sībawayh states that no one recites this phrase in the latter manner except those who are unaware of how it appears in the compiled copy.[61] However, he generally opts for the *mā tamīmiyyah* on the grounds that it corresponds with analogy.[62] Ibn Jinnī (d. 392 AH/1001 AC) states that *mā* in Tamīmī usage is more analogous, but that the Ḥijāzī usage is more widespread. He prefers the latter both for this reason and because the Qur'an was revealed in this language.[63]

In addition, the various Qur'anic recitations represent different dialects, among them Ḥijāzī and Tamīmī, such as *bi rabwatin* (2:265), with *fatḥah* according to Tamīmī practice (e.g., Ibn ʿĀmir and ʿĀṣim), while *bi rubwatin* with *ḍammah* is attributed to Quraysh (e.g., the other ten *qurrāʾ*).[64] Ibn Jinnī regards the recitation of *nushuran* (7:57) as more fluent, because it is the Ḥijāzī language, while the Tamīmī version is *nushran*.[65]

Nāfiʿ, Ibn Kathīr, Abū ʿAmr, Abū Jaʿfar, and Yaʿqūb recited according to the Ḥijāzī version, while only Ibn ʿĀmir followed the Tamīmī version.[66] Ibn ʿAbd al-Bārr argues that ʿUmar's statement to Ibn Masʿūd[67] merely indicates his own preference and does not mean that he forbade Ibn Masʿūd's recitation. He points out that because the Qur'an may be recited in seven styles, there is no objection to choosing one over the others.[68]

Ibn Jinnī comments that the Arabs change *ḥāʾ* to *ʿayn* and vice versa because of the similarity in their place of articulation. He concludes that reciting *ʿattā* for *ḥattā* is permitted, but that *ḥattā* is preferred because it is more widely used.[69] Hammudah supports this view by referring to certain sound recitations attributed to the Hudhayl tribe and which the *qurrāʾ* accepted, such as those of Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī: *fā li immihi* (4:11) instead of *fā la ummihi*.[70] This interpretation leads to the question of the Qur'an's revelation in seven styles of recitation.

One already-mentioned interpretation of the term "styles of recitation" (*aḥruf*) is that they refer to certain Arab dialects. However, scholars who support this interpretation differ over the dialects involved. Some claim that all seven of them are included in the Muḍarī tongue.[71] Abū ʿUbayd attributes to certain unnamed scholars the view that these seven Muḍarī dialects are those of the Quraysh, the Kinānah, the Asad, the Hudhayl, the Tamīm, the Ḍabbah, and the Qays tribes.[72] Other scholars report that Ibn ʿAbbās identified them as the Kaʿb of Quraysh (i.e., Kaʿb ibn Luʾayy and Kaʿb of Khuzāʿah

[i.e., Ka'b ibn 'Amr of Khuzā'ah]). According to Ibn 'Abbās, branches of the Quraysh and the Khuzā'ah were neighbors.[73]

However, al-Kalbī says that Ibn 'Abbās viewed the styles of recitation as seven dialects, five of which belonged to the A'jaz of the Hawāzin. Abū 'Ubayd identifies four as belonging to the Sa'd ibn Bakr, the Jusham ibn Bakr, the Naṣr ibn Mu'āwiyah, and the Thaqīf tribes. He adds that they were called the 'Ulyā Hawāzin (the Upper Hawāzin) and that 'Amr ibn al-'Alā' considered them, along with the Suflā Tamīm (the Lower Tamīm), the most fluent of all Arabs.[74] However, Abū 'Ubayd views the Sa'd ibn Bakr tribe as the most fluent of all Arabs, for the Prophet said: "I am the most fluent of Arabs, because I am Qurayshī and brought up in Sa'd ibn Bakr."[75] Abū Shāmah attributes to unnamed scholars the belief that five of the dialects belong to the Hawāzin, while the remaining two belong to all of the Arabs. In support of this view, some scholars argue that the Prophet was raised among the Hawāzin and lived with the Hudhayl.[76] Yet another version states that Abū 'Ubayd identified the dialects as those belonging to the Quraysh, the Hudhayl, the Thaqīf, the Hawāzin, the Kināmah, the Tamīm, and Yemen.[77] This view apparently expands the seven styles of recitation to include nearly all of the Arab dialects.

Abū Shāmah and Ibn al-Jazarī write that some scholars consider these dialects to be those of the Sa'd, the Thaqīf, the Hudhayl, and the Quraysh, and that the remaining two are divided among the tongues of all the Arabs.[78] According to Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, the dialects are those of the Quraysh, the Hudhayl, the Tamīm, the Azd, the Rabī'ah, the Hawāzin, and the Sa'd ibn Bakr.[79] According to al-Ṭabarī, the Qur'anic language represents some, but not all, of the Arab dialects, because the Arabs had more than seven tongues and languages.[80] According to Ibn Qutaybah and Abū 'Alī al-Ahwāzī, all seven styles of recitation are included in the Qurayshī tongue, in which the Qur'an was exclusively revealed.[81]

Those who accept the existence of other Arab dialects in the Qur'an have different views as to which tribe spoke the most eloquent Arabic. Al-Mubarrid states that every Arab whose language has not been changed is fluent according to his people (tribe), and that *banū fulān afṣahu min banī fulān* means that the Arabs are more similar in their language to the language of the Qur'an and the Quraysh, although the Qur'an has been revealed in all of their languages.[82] Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā' is quoted as mentioning that the most eloquent Arabs are those who live among the Upper Hawāzin and the Lower Tamīm,[83] the Upper Hawāzin and the Lower Qays, or the Upper Hawāzin and the Lower Quraysh.[84] According to Abū 'Ubayd, however,

the Sa'd ibn Bakr tribe is the most fluent of all Arabs because of the Prophet's above-mentioned statement.

The Quraysh are regarded as the most eloquent of all Arabs, according to Ibn Fāris,[85] al-Fārābī, al-Suyūṭī,[86] Ibn Khaldūn,[87] and al-Rāfi'ī.[88] Ibn al-Bāqillānī considers them the most eloquent Arabs and cites the fluency and clarity of the Tamīm's language. In his *Al-Kāmil* and on the authority of al-Asma'ī, al-Mubarrid considers the Jarm tribe to be the most fluent.[89] Other sources refer to other tribes, such as the Hudhayl and the Thaqīf, as being the most eloquent.[90]

According to al-Fārābī, however, the most fluent Arabs after the Quraysh are the Qays, the Tamīm, the Asad, the Hudhayl, and some parts of the Kinānah and the Tayyi' tribes.[91] Al-Rāfi'ī asserts that the Quraysh are the most eloquent, followed by the Sa'd ibn Bakr, the Jusham ibn Bakr, the Naṣr ibn Mu'āwiyah, and the Thaqīf tribes. Following them in fluency are the Khuzā'ah, the Hudhayl, the Kinānah, the Asad, and the Ḍabbah, all of whom were neighbors of Makkah and visited there frequently. Next in fluency are the Qays and other tribes of central Arabia.[92] In al-Rāfi'ī's opinion, the number *seven* is symbolic.[93]

The time factor is an important reason for these differences in fluency, eloquence, and clarity of speech, since these tribal societies were influenced by non-Arab clients who came to live in settled areas and later influenced nomadic regions. The philologists refused to accept information from certain regions and tribes whose dialects were considered the most fluent, such as the Thaqīf, the people of Ṭā'if, and the towns of Hijāz, on the grounds that foreign clients had changed and distorted their language.[94]

This view of seven dialects and all of their variations has been refuted on the grounds that the Qur'anic text includes many words belonging to other Arab dialects that were not selected as one of the seven styles of recitation.[95] Also, if these differences were dialectal, 'Umar and Hishām would not have differed in their recitation, because both men were Qurayshīs.[96] Furthermore, al-Ṭabarī regards all traditions mentioning the seven *lughāt* on the basis of their chain of transmission as weak, since none of their narrators (e.g., Qatādah and al-Kalbī) are regarded as accepted in any chain.[97]

Ibn al-Jazarī states that *aḥruf* does not mean dialects, but rather seven types of linguistic differences.[98] In support of this view, Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī says that 40 Arab dialects (*lughāt*) are found in the Qur'an.[99] Al-Suyūṭī identifies 32 dialects, quoting examples of them in the Qur'an.[100] Ibn al-Naqīb says in his *Tafsīr* that the Qur'an includes all Arab dialects,[101] which is supported by Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī, who writes that: "We sent no messenger

except [to each] in the language of his own people" (14:4) refers to all Arabs.[102] ʿAlī and Ibn ʿAbbās also said that the Qur'an was revealed in the dialects of all Arabs.[103] Ibn ʿAbbās states that the Prophet taught people in one dialect, but started teaching every tribe according to its dialect when its members had difficulty understanding the Qur'an.[104]

Since the Qur'anic text includes features of various Arab dialects, this chapter will now discuss the generally accepted view that the Qur'an was revealed in the common literary language of the Arabs, this being based on a certain dialect(s), whether specified or not. The following pages will discuss the views of modern and contemporary scholars whose arguments and analyses are based on modern methodology and linguistic evidence. However, first we will briefly consider Vollers' hypothesis: Classical Arabic, based on the speech of the bedouins living in Najd and Yamāmah, was greatly changed by the poets, while a quite different language (the precursor of modern Ḥadarī colloquial) was spoken in the rest of Arabia.

Vollers claims that the Qur'an was composed in that popular Arabic and was later rewritten in the classical style.[105] However, his theory has been discarded as too extreme.[106] Rabin differs from Vollers, who

> ... rejected the official text of the Koran as a grammarian's fabrication and sought its original form in the noncanonical variant readings. This reconstructed text he believed to be representative of "a popular language," as opposed to classical Arabic above all by its lack of cases and moods.[107]

Rabin then presents his own hypothesis: "I accept the Othmanic text as a true presentation of the language Muhammad used, but believe that his literary diction contained some elements of the spoken idiom of his milieu which happens to be a specimen of another lost language."[108]

R. Geyer and Nöldeke also reject Vollers' view since none of the oldest traditions or the Arabic of that time contains any evidence to support it.[109] In any case, diacritical marking is an original Semitic feature found in Akkadian, Amharic, Babylonian, Hebrew, Nabatean, and other Semitic languages.[110] In Nabatean particularly, as Nöldeke established, all such cases (viz., the use of *ḍammah*, *fatḥah*, and *kasrah*) are found.[111] For example, the Ḥarrān inscription contains *dhā al-marṭūl*, an accusative form.[112]

The Qur'anic text provides many examples of words that are unclear when such diacritical marks are ignored, such as *innamā yakhshā Allāha min ʿibādihi al-ʿulamāʾu* (35:28), *wa idh ibtalā Ibrāhīmā Rabbuhū* (2:124), *wa idhā ḥaḍara al-qismata ulū al-qurbā* (4:8), and *anna Allāha barīʾun min al-mushrikīna wa rasūluhū* (9:3). Moreover, the Qur'an was received by way of

succession with diacritical markings in both its written and recited forms.[113] Thus, it was taught to students and recited during one's prayers in accordance with those markings. The *qurrā'* differed over these markings in only a few cases related to reciting the Qur'an in its seven styles of recitation.[114]

As this system dates back to ancient times, the grammarians only formulated the rules governing its use with special reference to the language of the Qur'an and fluent speakers. Thus, they created Arabic grammar as a science.[115] ʿAlī Wāfi points out that transcribing the compiled copy, which was received in a successive manner but without vocalization, supports the existence of diacritical marks: the presence of *alif* with the nunated accusative (e.g., *rasūlan, bashīran,* and *shahīdan*) and diacritical markings with the styles of recitation (e.g., *al-mu'minūn* and *al-mu'minīn*).[116] The Qur'an refers to its language as a "clear Arabic language" (26:195) and states that it is "a Qur'an in Arabic without any crookedness [therein]" (39:28). This presupposes diacritical markings to make the text clear and understandable.

In its earliest appearance in the Arabic lexicon, however, *iʿrāb* (diacritical markings) means "speaking clearly, without incorrectness and without barbarousness."[117] Statements attributed to the Prophet and certain Companions encourage Muslims to recite the Qur'an according to its diacritical markings.[118] Al-Suyūṭī says that in this context, *iʿrāb* means no more than the knowledge of the words' meaning. He asserts that it is not a grammatical term, since any recitation without it is never considered or accepted, and that there would be no reward for reciting the Qur'an without it.[119]

In this connection, Abū Bakr said: "Verily, reciting the Qur'an with *iʿrāb* is more beloved to me than just memorizing certain verses."[120] Paul Kahle misunderstood this comment when he wrote that seeking diacritical markings and asking people to recite the Qur'an with it indicate that it used to be recited without such markings. Therefore, it was introduced later into the Qur'anic text.[121] If one accepts Abū Bakr's statement, *iʿrāb* means "clarity in reciting the Qur'an" and does not refer to grammatical terminology, because this meaning evolved after Abū al-Aswad al-Duʾalī introduced *naqṭ al-iʿrāb* during ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān's reign.[122]

If the Qur'an used to be recited without diacritical markings, surely this would have been mentioned in the oldest traditions and language sources.[123] Furthermore, certain early scholars are said to have objected to vocalization (*naqṭ al-iʿrāb*) and diacritical points (*naqṭ al-iʿjām*) because they were not in accordance with the Salaf's orthographical practice. If the inflectional endings in themselves had been an invention or innovation, these scholars would have protested vigorously. But there is no record of any such protest. In its

grammatical sense, as Ibn Fāris states, *iʿrāb* "distinguishes the meaning, and with the use of *iʿrāb* we understand what the speakers meant."[124]

As al-Anṭākī notes, it is unlikely that a group of grammarians could impose these fabricated characteristics on Arabic and force people to use them so quickly without any resistance or rejection. In addition, the very idea of such an invention is unacceptable, for languages evolve in a gradual manner. Thus one can say that the Qur'an's language developed naturally and that its characteristics and qualities date back centuries before Islam.[125]

To return to the main discussion, the differences between dialects spoken in the Ḥijāz, the Najd, and the Euphrates region were, according to Nöldeke, "small, and the literary language is based on all of them equally."[126] Lyall writes that classical Arabic is "a language of poetic convention of tribal wordstocks that had grown up with the absorption of the immense vocabulary of the Jāhiliyyah's *qaṣīdah* and its great number of synonyms."[127] Guidi maintains that while classical Arabic is a mixture of dialects spoke in the Najd and the adjoining regions, it is not identical with any of them.[128]

Nallino maintains that classical Arabic is based on the colloquial language of the Maʿadd tribes, who were united due to the rise of the Kindah kingdom and to its kings' generous patronage of poets. According to him, this colloquial tongue became the common literary language in the middle of the sixth century AC and dominated most of Arabia, including Madinah, Makkah, and Ṭāʾif.[129] Fischer and Hartmann opine that classical Arabic is identical to a particular dialect, but do not specify which one.[130]

Brockelmann, like Wetzstein and others before him, claims that "classical Arabic was never spoken in the form in which we know it," but does not discuss its relation to the dialects.[131] Elsewhere, he describes the Qur'anic language as being based on the Qurayshī dialect.[132] In his *Al-Taṭawwur al-Naḥwī li al-Lughah al-ʿArabiyyah*,[133] Bergstrasser may be quoted as favoring what he calls "the Hijāzī dialect" because he states that the compiled copy's orthography was in accord with it.[134] Wolfensohn argues that this common literary language is a mixture of many dialects that only became a united language after their speakers disappeared.[135]

Blachère claims that literary Arabic is based on a non-Qurayshī native dialect, but does not specify which one.[136] Rabin offers a working hypothesis: "Classical Arabic is based on one or several of the dialects of Najd, perhaps in archaic form."[137] The Qur'anic language, according to Beeston, "is unmistakably that of the poetic corpus of the sixth century."[138] However, he maintains that it was first written down in a form reflecting the pronunciation of Makkah's western dialect and that scholars introduced certain fea-

tures characteristic of the eastern dialects by adding recitation marks to the language.[139] In conclusion, most Western scholars generally agree that classical Arabic originated among the Najdī bedouins and that it was originally the language of one tribe, a combination of various dialects, or that it acquired some purely artificial characteristics.[140]

In his *Qur'anic Studies*,[141] Wansbrough devotes a chapter to the "Origin of classical Arabic."[142] Here, he rejects the concept of a literary Arabic language without offering any clear alternative, and asserts that little is known about the Qur'anic text or classical Arabic prior to the "literary stabilization of both in the third AH/ninth AC century." Nothing, he maintains, in the Qur'anic usage of *'arabī* and its cognate form supports Fück's suggestion (*'Arabiyya*, Berlin: 1905, 1-5) that *'arabī* in the expression "clear Arabic speech" refers to the *'arabiyyah* that was the bedouins' literary language.[143]

Watt's final conclusion, however, is that the Qur'anic language falls somewhere between the poetical *koine* and the Makkan dialect. He also notes the omission of the *hamzah* (glottal stop), which is mentioned as a peculiarity of Makkan speech and has affected the Qur'an's orthography.[144] Alternatively, he states that one might say that the Qur'an was written in a Makkan variant of the literary language. According to some contemporary Arab philologists, however, this common literary language should not be attributed to a particular tribe, but rather to all Arab tribes, since it accepted elements from all of them and thus seems to be similar to all of them.[145]

'Alī Wāfi[146] accepts that the Qur'an was revealed in the common literary language but disagrees with Western scholars in that he, like Ṭāhā Husayn and others before him, asserts that this common language is based on the Qurayshī speech. To reconcile these two ideas, he postulates that this Qurayshī influence spread throughout Arabia well before Islam. He agrees with Vendryes in pointing out that the formation of a standard or a common language is "due either to the extension of an organized political power, to the influence of a predominant social class, or to the supremacy of a literature. Whatever may be its recognized origin, there are always political, social or economic reasons which contribute to its preservation."[147]

'Alī Wāfi then argues that at least the second and third of these reasons apply to the Quraysh. Their dominating dialect then became the language of art, as well as of prose and poetry, correspondence, conferences, negotiations, and the delegations' speeches and poems.[148] His arguments are not based on any linguistic evidence, but on what he sees as Makkah's dominant cultural and economic position in the days before Islam. Many Arab scholars and researchers use his arguments with certain additions or modifications.[149]

This common literary language of pre-Islamic verse and prose is, according to Hammudah, the language in which the Qur'an was revealed. But he adds that its origin is the Qurayshī *lahjah* (dialect), or what is called the Ḥijāzī dialect.[150] Anis refers to the occasions of pilgrimage, general gatherings, and cultural conferences before Islam, all of which were factors in uniting the Arabic language on the basis of the Qurayshī dialect.[151] Although he maintains that the most eloquent and dominant manner of pausing in the Qur'anic verses is that of the Quraysh and the tribes of the Ḥijāz,[152] he asserts that the Qur'anic language represents the Arabs' common literary language.[153]

The Qurayshī dialect, however, is said to have contributed many elements and features to this common literary language, so much so, in fact, that attributing it generally to the Quraysh or the tribes of the Ḥijāz may be accurate, as most scholars believe.[154] But the Qur'an also contains many other elements and features that disagree with Ḥijāzī, including Qurayshī, speech.[155]

Al-Ghamrāwī, who accepts the common literary language, asserts that the only difference between the Qurayshī and other dialects is that the influence of the common literary language was so great on the Qurayshī dialect because the Quraysh tribe lived close to the markets. Distinguishing between their literary and spoken languages, he postulates that both were influenced by the common literary language. For other tribes, this influence was confined mainly to their poetry.[156]

Some scholars have objected to the view that the Qur'anic language is based on the Qurayshī dialect:

1. The only reason for the Qurayshī dialect to be favored is theological, rather than linguistic, since the Prophet came from that tribe.[157]
2. Qur'anic commentators quote other dialects and cite poets belonging to other tribes in order to interpret the meaning of archaic words.
3. The Quraysh tribe boasts few poets.
4. The philologists refer to bedouin dialects rather than to the Qurayshī dialect.
5. The Sūq ʿUkāẓ was established shortly before Islam.[158]
6. Certain non-Qurayshī features, such as *hamzah*, are dominant in the Qur'an.[159]

Those who support this theory reject these six points on the grounds that the Qur'an contains other dialect-related features that are to be interpreted with reference to their origins,[160] but that the influence of non-Arabs

on the Ḥijāzī people's tongue after the spread of Islam led philologists to seek the pure language in areas where few or no non-Arabs lived.[161] As for the towns, the purity of language (*faṣāḥah*) vanished within 150 years of the Prophet's migration to Madina.[162] Even after these philologists discovered that the Qurayshī tongue had become distorted,[163] they continued collecting words and phrases from bedouins and accepting their dialects for about another 200 years.[164] Furthermore, they maintained that ʿUkāẓ had come into existence at least a century before the coming of Islam.[165]

In conclusion, the Qur'an refers to the language in which it was revealed as an "Arabic without any crookedness (therein)" (39:28) and a "clear Arabic language" (26:195). This *ʿarabiyyah* is neither Qurayshī nor another language, but the common literary language of the people of the Ḥijāz, the Najd, and other Arabian regions. Thus the Qur'an could be understood by all, just as the *Muhājirūn* and *Anṣār* who met in Madinah could talk and understand each other without any problems.

Delegations came to the Prophet from various parts of Arabia, and he sent teachers back with them. Apparently they had no difficulty in communicating or understanding the Qur'an.[166] If the Qur'an had not been revealed in this common literary language, it would have been difficult for the Arabs to understand it or to be influenced by its verses. The Qur'an's effect on all Arab dialects was so great that it eventually had an overwhelming influence on all literary endeavors. This does not mean, however, that all dialectal features ceased to exist. In fact, the Qur'anic text contains such features.

Although the orthography of the copies of the ʿUthmānic writ is said to follow the Qurayshī dialect,[167] the Qur'anic text still allows variant readings in the seven accepted styles of recitation. Thus, in practice, one finds various dialects in sound, accepted readings or in canonical readings. For example, in *lākinnā* (18:38) and *anā uḥyī* (2:258), the final *ā* is pronounced in a long form in both continued speech and in pausal form (e.g., by Abū Jaʿfar and Nāfiʿ [a Tamīmī] of Madinah), while the other tribes and recitations preserve only its pausal form.[168]

Although the Qur'anic language represents many Arab dialects, it might be argued that it was based mainly on the Qurayshī dialect and those of their eloquent neighbors in the Ḥijāz and the Najd, particularly the Tamīm tribe. In these canonical readings, one notices the existence of various Arab dialects as regards etymology, vocabulary, grammar, and morphology. However, the Qurayshī or the Ḥijāzī dialects are generally more dominant.

CHAPTER 6

The Origin of the Recitations

The Prophet received the Revelation in portions of verses, taught them to his Companions, and recited them while praying alone and and while leading his Companions in prayer.[1] In this connection, the Qur'an addresses the Prophet:

> Do not move your tongue concerning the [Qur'an] to make haste therewith. It is for Us to collect it and to promulgate it. But when We have promulgated it, follow its recital [as promulgated]; then it is for Us to explain it [and make it clear]. (75:16-19)

The Qur'an also characterizes its revelation as occurring in stages:

> [It is] a Qur'an that We have divided [into parts from time to time] so that you might recite it to people at intervals. We have revealed it by stages. (17:106)

Furthermore, the Prophet asked certain Companions, such as ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd (3:1-42)[2] and Ubayy ibn Kaʿb (surah 98),[3] to recite portions of the Qur'an to him. The Muslims studied and recited it from the very early Makkan era. For example, Ibn Ishāq reported that when ʿUmar visited his sister and her husband, he found them with their teacher, Khabbāb ibn al-Aratt, reciting and studying surahs 20 and 81.[4] Whenever the Prophet received Qur'anic verses, he taught them first to the men and then to the women in a special circle.[5]

Before the hijrah, the Prophet told certain learned *qurrā'* to teach the Qur'an to the people in Madinah. The first *qāri'* to do so was Musʿab ibn ʿUmayr,[6] who was followed by ʿAbd Allāh ibn Umm Maktūm, ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, and Bilāl.[7] After the hijrah, when the Muslims were in Madinah, the Prophet would appoint to each newly converted inividual or delegation a

learned Companion to teach them the Qur'an.[8] He also sent *qurrā'* to certain places and tribes, particularly after conquering Makkah. In Makkah itself, Mu'ādh ibn Jabal taught the people.[9] The number of *qurrā'* who had memorized the Qur'an gradually increased, so much so that 70 or 40 of them were killed at the Battle of Bi'r Ma'ūnah (5 AH/626 AC).[10]

Many of the *qurrā'* among the Companions and the Successors settled in the newly conquered cities. In his *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt*, Ibn Sa'd counts hundreds who settled in Kufah, Basrah, and Damascus, and their students who transmitted from them.[11] After the Prophet died, the caliphs assigned prominent *qurrā'* to specific posts: (e.g., Abū al-Dardā' to Damascus, 'Ubādah ibn al-Ṣāmit to Ḥims, Mu'ādh ibn Jabal to Palestine,[12] 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd to Kufah,[13] and Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī to Basrah).[14] After compiling the Qur'anic material into the official writ and having several copies made, 'Uthmān appointed a *qāri'* for each city/region that received a copy.[15]

These copies contained orthographical differences. Some scholars assert that this was done deliberately to accommodate the seven accepted styles of recitation. The variations that could not be allocated in a single copy were divided among the copies of the 'Uthmānic writ.[16] For example, the copies sent to Madinah and Damascus contain *wa awṣā* (2:132), while the other copies have *wa waṣṣā* (viz., without the *alif*).[17] In addition, these copies had no vocalization or diacritical markings so that they could accommodate various dialects and permitted recitations. Such markings were added later on to prevent mistakes among the newly converted non-Arab peoples.[18]

Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn al-Jazarī assert that the copies of the 'Uthmānic writ that existed at the time of the Companions did not contain such markings for the following reasons:

1. The Companions depended on their memories rather than on the copies, bearing in mind that the Qur'an is transmitted in a successive manner. It also was revealed in portions so that it could be easily memorized. Thus they did not need to depend on a book, as did the People of the Book.
2. Being native speakers of Arabic, they did not make mistakes.
3. They wished to preserve the possibility of such different readings as *ya'malūna* and *ta'malūna*.

Different colored markings were introduced during the lifetime of the Successors, when some of them started using it in their copies to ensure that

no mistakes would occur.[19] Some scholars argue that diacritical points have always been found with the alphabetical letters because their absence would make it hard to distinguish between them.[20]

Schools for reciting the Qur'an were established in each city/region that received a copy. Any recitation that did not correspond with the official copy was abandoned, and ʿUthmān ordered the destruction of all personal codices.[21] The copies of the ʿUthmānic writ and recitations of the large cities/regions became famous and were adopted throughout the Muslim world. Hence, all canonical readings are attributed to their *qurrāʾ*, among whom are the following:

1. In Madīnah: Muʿādh al-Qārī, Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib, ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubayr, ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, ʿAṭāʾ ibn Yasār, Sālim ibn ʿAbd Allāh, Sulaymān ibn Yasār, Muslim ibn Jundub, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Hurmuz, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, and Zayd ibn Aslam.
2. In Makkah: ʿUbayd ibn ʿUmayr, ʿAṭāʾ, Ṭāwūs, Mujāhid, ʿIkrimah, and Ibn Abū Mulaykah.
3. In Kufah: ʿAlqamah, al-Aswad, Masrūq, ʿUbaydah, ʿAmr ibn Shuraḥbīl, al-Ḥārith ibn Qays, al-Rabīʿ ibn Khaytham, ʿAmr ibn Maymūn, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, Zarr ibn Ḥubaysh, ʿUbayd ibn Faḍīlah, Abū Zarʿah ibn ʿAmr ibn Jarīr, Saʿīd ibn Jubayr, Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, and Shaʿbi.
4. In Basrah: ʿĀmir ibn ʿAbd Qays, Abū al-ʿĀliyah, Abū Rajāʾ, Naṣr ibn ʿĀṣim, Yaḥyā ibn Yaʿmur, Muʿādh, Jābir ibn Zayd, al-Ḥasan, Ibn Sīrīn, and Qatādah.
5. In Shām: al-Mughīrah ibn Abū Shihāb al-Makhzūmī (a pupil of ʿUthmān) and Khulayd ibn Saʿd (a pupil of Abū al-Dardāʾ).[22]

The next generation was more specialized, and some scholars taught only recitation. The cities' inhabitants and non-local students went to learn from them. Thus, the recitations were attributed to them due to their many years of teaching it, their selection (*ikhtiyār*)[23] of a recitation style, and the fact that their fellow inhabitants accepted their recitation. These scholars include:

1. In Madīnah: Abū Jaʿfar Yazīd ibn al-Qaʿqāʿ, Shaybah ibn Naṣāḥ, and Nāfiʿ ibn Abū Nuʿaym.
2. In Makkah: ʿAbd Allāh ibn Kathīr, Ḥumayd ibn Qays al-Aʿraj, and Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn.

3. In Kufah: Yaḥyā ibn Waththāb, ʿĀṣim ibn Abū al-Najūd, Sulaymān ibn al-Aʿmash, Ḥamzah, and al-Kisāʾī.
4. In Basrah: ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abū Isḥāq, ʿĪsā ibn Abū ʿUmar, Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlāʾ, ʿĀṣim al-Juḥdarī, and Yaʿqūb al-Ḥadramī.
5. In Shām: ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir, ʿAṭiyyah ibn Qays al-Kilābī, Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Muhājir, Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥārith al-Dhimārī, and Shurayḥ ibn Yazīd al-Ḥadramī.[24]

No differences are reported in the recitations of the Companions during the Makkan era. The first reports of this come from Madinah, after the hijrah and while the Prophet was still alive, for certain Companions sought the Prophet's arbitration. Each of them supported his recitation by stating that the Prophet had taught it to him that way. For example, ʿUmar and Hishām took their dispute to the Prophet, who told them that the Qur'an had been revealed in both ways.[25] These differences continued even after ʿUthmān's compilation, although the Muslims were now ordered to recite and teach the Qur'an according to the ʿUthmānic writ and the teachings of the authorized *qurrāʾ*. Thus, all other recitations were rejected and considered deviant (*shādhdh*).[26] Ibn Manẓūr, in his *Lisān al-ʿArab*, adopts this view and quotes al-Azharī, Ibn Mujāhid, and Ibn al-Anbārī in support.[27]

Al-Zajjāj claims that one's recitation must correspond to the orthography of the ʿUthmānic writ's copies, for it is *sunnah* to recite only according to them.[28] Ibn al-Jazarī reports on the authority of ʿUmar and Zayd ibn Thābit (Companions), and of Ibn al-Mukandir, ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubayr, ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī (Successors), that reciting is *sunnah* and that the Salaf taught it to their descendants. Given this, any recitation should be in accord with it.[29] Al-Bayhaqī and Ismāʿīl al-Qādī interpret this as meaning that we should follow any recitation of the Salaf that is consistent with the copies of the ʿUthmānic writ and that disagreeing with the orthography contained therein is forbidden.[30]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONDITIONS FOR ACCEPTED RECITATIONS

The Companions and the Successors recited the Qur'an as the Prophet and his authorized teachers had taught it to them. The only condition for a recitation's authenticity and acceptability was that it be recited according to an accepted trasmission, since the Companions and the Successors always referred any dispute back to it on the grounds that the Prophet had taught

it to them that way.[31] The Successors also referred their recitations to such prominent *qurrā'* as Ubayy ibn Ka'b, 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd, and Zayd ibn Thābit, all of whom were Companions.[32] Accordingly, all scholars agree that the *qāri'* had to transmit the recitation directly to the student, and that this *qāri'* had to trace his line of teachers back to the Prophet, for the Prophet had learned the Qur'an from Jibril and then taught it to his Companions.[33] After 'Uthmān's compilation, all of the *qurrā'* were told to recite only according to the 'Uthmānic writ and its copies, and all personal codices were collected and burned.[34] Eventually, the copies of the 'Uthmānic writ became dominant, even though they met with some slight resistance (e.g., Ibn Mas'ūd[35] and Ibn Shunbūdh[36]).

Al-Qasṭallānī says that some people of innovation (*bid'ah*) started reciting the Qur'an without depending on any transmission or chain in order to support their theological views, such as the recitation attributed to certain Mu'tazilites, *wa kallama Allāha Mūsā taklīman*, while the authentic reading is *wa kallama Allāhu Musā taklīman* (4:164). Another example was attributed to certain Shī'ahs, *wa mā kuntu muttakhidha al-muḍillayn 'aḍudan*, in order to interpret it as referring to Abū Bakr and 'Umar, while the authentic recitation is *al-muḍillīn* (18:51), with a plural instead of a dual form.

Al-Qasṭallānī argues that the scholars chose certain *qurrā'* from each city that received a copy of the 'Uthmānic writ on the basis of their authenticity, integrity, knowledge, long experience in teaching a recitation, the correspondence of their recitations with the orthography of 'Uthmānic writ and its copies, and the inhabitants' acceptance of their recitations.[37] In his *Kitāb al-Qirā'āt*, al-Tabarī authenticates each recitation, provided that it corresponded with the 'Uthmānic writ's orthography and was transmitted from the Prophet with an authentic chain.[38]

Ibn Mujāhid introduces more conditions, considering his evaluation of the *qāri'* rather than of the recitation: The recitation is acceptable if the *qāri'* has memorized the Qur'an perfectly; knows the different ways of vocalization (*i'rāb*), recitation (*qirā'āt*), and dialects (*lughāt*); relies on narration and chain of transmission; and has his recitation accepted by the people of his city/area.

Ibn Mujāhid asserts that the seven *qurrā'* of the Ḥijāz, Iraq, and Damascus, whose readings he collected in his *Kitāb al-Sab'ah*, are descendants of the Successors and that their recitations were accepted unanimously in their own and neighboring cities.[39] A new development took place when Makkī ibn Abū Ṭālib studied and classified them in his *Al-Ibānah*. He evaluated the recitations rather than the *qurrā'*. According to him, any

recitation is acceptable if it is an authentic transmission from the Prophet, linguistically sound, and in orthographic agreement with one of the copies of the ʿUthmānic writ.[40]

In his *Al-ʿAwāṣim min al-Qawāṣim*,[41] Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 543 AH/1148 AC) attributes these three conditions to some unnamed scholars and approves them.[42] Ibn al-Jazarī adopts Makkī's conditions, with slight modifications, as follows: soundness of the chain; consistency with Arabic in any fluent form, even if it has a lower degree of eloquence; and agreement with the orthography of one of the copies of the ʿUthmānic writ, either directly (*malik* [Qur'an, 1:4]), or indirectly (consistent with the orthography, as in *mālik*).[43]

Ibn al-Jazarī also opted for the recitation's successive chain,[44] but changed this to soundness because if the chain is successive, there is no need to seek other conditions.[45] In this context, "soundness" means that the chain should consist of more than isolated reports and that, although it may not be successive, it should at least be well-known. Makkī, al-Baghawī, al-Sakhāwī, Abū Shāmah, and Ibn al-Jazarī agree with this,[46] saying that a recitation is acceptable when it comes through a sound, well-known chain supported by its fluency in Arabic and its agreement with the orthography of one of the ʿUthmānic writ's copies. If one of these three conditions is not met, the recitation should be regarded as deviant.[47] In support of his ruling, Ibn al-Jazarī quotes earlier scholars (e.g., Makkī, al-Dānī, al-Mahdawī, Abū Shāmah, and al-Kawāshī) and adds that all of the Salaf share it.[48] Ibn al-ʿArabī, Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī, al-Qasṭallānī, and al-Suyūṭī agree, quoting many other scholars as having supported this view.[49]

However, al-Jaʿburī asserts that the only condition is an authentic chain, which necessarily includes the other requirements of fluency and orthography.[50] In his *Al-Kāmil*, however, al-Hudhalī writes that all readings that agree with the copies are accepted if they do not contradict the consensus (ijmaʿ).[51] According to al-Zurqānī, certain scholars did not make continuity an obligatory condition for acceptance because the Qur'an is successive. Therefore, the three conditions might be enough to give knowledge that is the same as that provided by a successive chain.[52]

Al-Nuwayrī (897 AH/1492 AC) writes that he and most other scholars, among them al-Ghazālī, Ibn al-Ḥājib, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Ibn ʿAṭiyyah, al-Nawawī, and al-Zarkashī, demand continuity as a condition for accepting a recitation and so reject the above opinion. He also states that not imposing this condition is an innovation and contradicts the consensus of the jurists, the collectors of hadiths, and others. Moreover, he asserts that Makkī was the first one to differ and that he was followed by later scholars.[53] Al-Bannāʾ

al-Dimyāṭī, following al-Nuwayrī, asserts that Makkī was the first one who did not impose this condition.[54]

Al-Ṣafâqisī (1118 AH/1706 AC) argues that, according to the *uṣūlīs*, the *fuqahā'*, and the *qurrā'*, continuity is essential for a recitation's authenticity. Accordingly, just having a sound chain, even if it agrees with the orthography of the 'Uthmānic writ's copies and fluency, as was maintained by Makkī and then Ibn al-Jazarī,[55] is not enough. He adds that the legal school of these two scholars is not reliable, because it does not differentiate between what is Qur'an and what is not. Furthermore, al-Ṣafâqisī writes that differing versions given by the *qurrā'* do not affect a recitation's successiveness, for it can be successive according to one group of *qurrā'* and not to another group. Therefore, he states that an anomolous recitation is one which is not successive.[56] Most jurists do not accept such a recitation, and only the Hanafīs accept a chain's *shurah*.[57]

Ibn Miqsam (d. 332 AH/943 AC) recited according to the recitation's agreement with the 'Uthmānic writ's copies and its fluency in Arabic. However, since its chain was not authentic, the scholars abandoned and rejected it. He was questioned by the leading scholars of his time and, after being told not to continue, repented and returned to the consensus.[58]

Ibn al-Bāqillānī regards all recitations that conflict with the copies of the 'Uthmānic writ as having non-successive chains (*akhbār āḥād*), maintains that all recitations styles must have a successive transmission, and says that all Muslims agree that the Qur'an cannot be written or recited according to these anomalous styles.[59] However, all scholars, including Ibn al-Jazarī, regard any recitation that does not have a sound continuous transmission as false and fabricated and say that whoever intentionally follows them is an unbeliever.[60]

The orthographical differences among the copies of the 'Uthmānic writ are known from the books of early scholars who had studied these copies. Among them are Abū 'Ubayd's *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*,[61] Ibn Mujāhid's *Kitāb al-Sab'ah*,[62] al-Dānī's *Al-Muqni' fī Rasm Maṣāḥif al-Amṣār*[63] and *Al-Muḥkam fī Naqṭ al-Maṣāḥif*,[64] and al-Mahdawī's *Hijā' Maṣāḥif al-Amṣār*.[65] The fifth chapter of the anonymous *Muqaddimat Kitāb al-Mabānī fī Naẓm al-Ma'ānī*[66] is devoted to the differences among the copies (*ikhtilāf al-maṣāḥif*).[67] Finally, older books of Qur'anic commentary such as al-Ṭabarī's *Jāmi' al-Bayān 'an Ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān*,[68] al-Zamakhsharī's *Tafsīr al-Kashshāf*,[69] and al-Qurṭubī's *Al-Jāmi' li Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, discuss this matter thoroughly.[70]

It is unanimously agreed that any recitation must conform to the orthography of one of the 'Uthmānic writ's copies.[71] Thus, Mālik ibn Anas

writes that anyone who recites according to personal codices that differ from these copies should not lead any prayer.[72] According to Ibn al-Jazarī, these copies were conformed to the final revealed version and the people of every city used them in their recitations, as taught by the Companions, who had learned the correct recitation directly from the Prophet. The Successors used the same method to teach their students.[73]

Ibn Shunbūdh, however, recited according to certain personal codices, such as that of Ibn Mas'ūd,[74] and was punished for doing so by a gathering of scholars meeting in Baghdad in 323 AH/934 AC. Under Ibn Mujāhid's chairmanship and with Ibn Muqlah's support, the 'Abbāsid *wazīr* sentenced Ibn Shunbūdh to be beaten and forbade him to continue.[75] Since no one opposed this condition, agreement with the orthography of the 'Uthmānic writ's copies became mandatory and all personal codices that did not agree with that orthography[76] were rejected and regarded as anomalous and deviant, even if the chain was authentic and the language was sound.[77]

The final condition, being consistent with fluent Arabic, is obvious, given that the Qur'an was revealed "in the clear Arabic language" (26:195). However, some scholars disagreed over the degree of fluency required and thus objected to certain recitations that they did not cosider to be in the most fluent style.[78] In conclusion, as Ibn al-Jazarī says, if a recitation is transmitted by an authentic chain and agrees with the orthography of one of the 'Uthmānic writ's copies, then it is acceptable if its language is acceptable, whether or not another reading may be more fluent.[79]

THE KINDS OF RECITATIONS

According to Makkī ibn Abū al-Qaysī, all recitations are classified into the following two categories: accepted recitations that agree with the three conditions, and rejected readings that a) disagree with the orthography of the copies of the 'Uthmānic writ (viz., they are isolated reports and contradict the consensus), b) do not have authentic transmissions, and c) have sound (but not continuous) transmissions that correspond with the copies of the 'Uthmānic writ but do not conform to the Arabic language.[80]

For the sake of brevity, Makkī does not give examples. However, Ibn al-Jazarī quotes him and provides the following examples:

1. For the first kind: Two ways of reciting *malik* and *mālik* in 1:4.
2. For the second kind: a) Ibn Mas'ūd's recitation of *wa al-dhakara wa al-unthā*, which is in the 'Uthmānic copy, with addition of *mā khalaqa* as

wa mā khalaqa al-dhakara wa al-unthā (92:3); b) the recitation attributed to Ibn al-Sumayfi' and Abū al-Simāl, *nunaḥḥīka bi badānika li takūna li man khalafāka āyah*, while the authentic one is *nunajjika bi badnika li takūna li man khalfāka āyah* (10:92); and c) the recitation attributed to Zayd and Abū Hātim on the authority of Ya'qūb, *adriya aqarībun*, which should be recited as *adrī aqarībun* (without *fatḥah*). Ibn al-Jazarī says that this last kind, however, is rare or non-existent, and quotes it here only as an example.[81]

He then divides authentic recitations into two categories: authentic (meeting all three conditions) and inauthentic (not meeting one of the conditions).[82] Elsewhere, he divides them into three categories. The first is the well-known ones accepted by all people, such as those of the accepted narrators and reliable books of recitation. An example of how the well-known readings vary is in their treatment of prolongation (*madd*). Ibn al-Jazarī states that such variations date back to the seven styles of recitation revealed to the Prophet, as do all of these variations, which all have the status of successive recitations.[83] He interprets "successive" as that which is transmitted by a group of people (without a fixed number of narrators) narrating on the authority of another group to the end of the chain. He adds that recitations defined in this way give knowledge.[84]

The second category is that which is rejected by the people and not well-known.[85] The third category is anomalous, defined as that which has a sound chain and is consistent with Arabic, but does not correspond with the copies of the 'Uthmānic writ.[86]

Al-'Asqalānī divides the recitations into three categories: those that correspond to the orthography of the copies of the 'Uthmānic writ but are transmitted with strange chains (he regards these as similar to the above); those that differ from the copies of the 'Uthmānic writ and thus are not regarded as part of the Qur'an; and those that agree with the orthography of the copies of the 'Uthmānic writ, are transmitted in well-known chains, and are accepted by the scholars generation after generation. He views such recitations, among them those of Ya'qūb and Abū Ja'far, as acceptable.[87]

Al-Qasṭallānī classifies the recitations as those that are agreed to be successive, those with questionable successiveness, and those that are agreed to be anomalous.[88] According to Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī (824 AH/1421 AC), the recitations are divided into continuous (the seven prominent recitations), isolated (the recitations of the three *qurrā'* that are added to the seven accepted styles of recitation [the recitations attributed to the Companions

are considered isolated]), and anomolous (the recitations of such Successors as al-Aʿmash, Yaḥyā ibn Waththāb, and Ibn Jubayr).[89]

Al-Suyūṭī, who agrees with Ibn al-Jazarī, objects to al-Bulqīnī's view on the grounds that a recitation's acceptability should be subject only to the three conditions mentioned above.[90] In conclusion, he classifies the kinds of acceptable recitations in greater detail and defines each kind:

1. *Mutawātir*: A recitation narrated by a group on another group's authority until the end of the chain, and for whom it would be impossible to agree on something false. An example would be that upon which all narrators agree was transmitted on the authority of the seven *qurrāʾ*. The greater part of all readings is in this category.
2. *Mashhūr*: A recitation narrated with a sound chain but is not successive, as long as it corresponds to one of the copies of the ʿUthmānic writ and is consistent with Arabic. An example would be a word or a phrase upon which the seven *qurrāʾ* vary. He asserts that only these kinds are permissible and that they should be accepted without any doubt.
3. *Āḥād*: A recitation narrated with a sound chain but is inconsistent with Arabic or the copies' orthography. Such readings are isolated and therefore not acceptable, even if their chain is well-known, and thus are not permitted. An example of this is found in al-Hakim's *Mustadrak*, where he reports on the Prophet's authority the recitation of *ratārit*, which is found in the copies' *ratrat*, and the recitation *qurrāt*, which is *qurrat* in the copies (32:17).
4. *Shādhdh*: A recitation narrated without a sound chain, such as *malaka* and *yuʿbadu*, which, according to accepted recitations, are *māliki* and *naʿbudu* (1:4-5).
5. *Mawdūʿ*: A recitation narrated without any chain or is fabricated, such as those compiled by al-Khuzāʿī, which were attributed to Abū Ḥanīfah - *yaksha Allāhu min ʿibādihī al-ʿulamāʾa*, when the authentic recitation is *yakhshā Allāha min ʿibādihī al-ʿulamāʾu* (35:28).
6. *Mudraj*: A recitation that is similar to *al-ḥadīth al-mudraj* (commentary added to the Qur'anic text), such as the one attributed to Saʿd ibn Abū Waqqāṣ, with the addition of *min umm* after *wa lahū akhun aw ukhtun* (4:12) and the one attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās, with the addition of *fī mawāsim al-ḥajj* to *laysa ʿalaykum junāḥun an tabtaghū fāḍlan min Rabbikum* (2:198).[91]

SUCCESSIVE AND ANOMALOUS RECITATIONS

Scholars agree on the successiveness of the seven styles of recitation associated with the main cities, as compiled by Ibn Mujāhid in his *Kitāb al-Sab'ah*. Thus, these recitations and their fourteen variations were accepted and canonized by the scholars' consensus.[92] Prominent philologists wrote many books on these styles' phonetic aspects and linguistic features.[93] Ibn Mujāhid considers any style of recitation other than those found in his book to be anomalous. Some scholars[94] agreed with him. However, some of those who agreed with him also added the recitations of Abū Ja'far, Ya'qūb, and Khalaf, with the result that there are ten successive recitations.[95]

Over time, many books were written about the styles of recitation belonging to eight, nine, or ten *qurrā'*, adding one or more to Ibn Mujāhid's list.[96] Ibn al-Jazarī strongly supports this view, stating that the Salaf and their descendants accepted the ten readings because no objections have been reported from them. Thus, he says that these ten styles of recitation were accepted by the people. He studies the chains of the three additional styles of recitation to prove that they have the same status as the seven that appear in his book. In addition, he quotes Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Ḥayyān, saying that, in effect, the seven recitations (*qirā'āt*) differ from the seven styles of recitation (*aḥruf*) and were introduced by Ibn Mujāhid in the fourth century AH/tenth century AC. Before that time, all ten of these recitations were known and accepted in the major cities.

Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Ḥayyān claim that the ten recitations are successive and that people should not reject them just because they do not know them all.[97] Moreover, Ibn al-Jazarī lists the names of prominent *qurrā'* from Ibn Mujāhid's time until his own (ninth century AC/fifteenth century AC).[98] In conclusion, he asserts that the ten recitations are equally successive without exception.[99] Finally, he devotes the fifth chapter of his *Munjid al-Muqri'īn* to quotations from scholars supporting his view, such as al-Baghawī, Ibn Taymiyyah, and al-Ja'burī.[100]

According to Ibn al-Ḥājib, the seven recitations are successive, except in some styles of pronunciation (e.g. prolongation [*madd*] and bending the sound of a short vowel [*imālah*]).[101] Ibn Khaldūn, who chose this view, approves the successiveness of only the seven recitations.[102] But other scholars reject this view, saying that the Salaf transmitted the seven recitations with all of their chains, orthography, and linguistic aspects, including phonetics and ways of pronunciation. In regard to prolongation, for example, the *qurrā'* agreed unanimously that it existed and differed only on its degree.[103]

Abū Shāmah regards the seven recitations as successive only when they agree with each other.[104] However, Ibn al-Jazarī asserts that this opinion contradicts the majority's view that each of these recitations was transmitted in a successive chain, and that Ibn Mujāhid only selected two out of many transmitters for each recitation.[105] Furthermore, he considers all of the ten recitations to be successive, whether they agree or disagree with each other and concerning all of their aspects.[106]

Al-Khuzā'ī (d. 408 AH/1017 AC), the first known author of such a book, wrote *Al-Muntahā fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr*.[107] He was followed by many others: Abū ʿAlī al-Mālikī (d. 438 AH/1046 AC), who wrote *Kitāb al-Rawḍah fī al-Qirā'āt al-Iḥdā ʿAsharah* (the ten readings and the reading of al-Aʿmash).[108] Then came Abū Naṣr al-Baghdādī (d. 442 AH/1050 AC), *Al-Mufīd fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr*[109]; Ibn Shīṭā (d. 443 AH/1051 AC), *Al-Tidhkār fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr*[110]; Ibn Fāris (d. 450 AH/1058 AC), *Al-Jāmiʿ fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr*[111]; Abū al-Ḥasan al-Fārisī (d. 461 AH/1068 AC), *Kitāb al-Jāmiʿ fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr*[112]; Ibn Jubārah al-Maghribī (d. 465 AH/1072 AC), *Al-Kāmil fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr wa al-Arbaʿah al-Zā'iḍāh ʿalayhā*[113]; Ibn Suwār (d. 496 AH/1102 AC), *Kitāb al-Mustanīr fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr*[114]; Abū ʿAlī al-Khayyāṭ (d. 499 AH/1106 AC), *Kitāb al-Muhadhdhab fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr*[115]; Abū al-ʿIzz al-Qalānisī al-Wāsiṭī (d. 521 AH/1127 AC), *Kitāb Irshād al-Mubtadi' wa Tadhkirat al-Muntahī fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr*[116]; Ibn Khayrūn (d. 539 AH/1144 AC), *Kitāb al-Mūḍiḥ fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr* and *Al-Miftāḥ fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr*[117]; al-Shahrazūrī (d. 550 AH/1155 AC), *Kitāb al-Miṣbāḥ fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr*[118]; al-Wāsiṭī (d. 740 AH/1339 AC), *Al-Kanz fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr* and *Al-Kifāyah fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr*[119]; Ibn al-Jundī (d. 769 AH/1367 AC), *Kitāb al-Bustān fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr*[120]; Sibṭ al-Khayyāṭ (d. 541 AH/1146 AC), *Irādat al-Ṭālib fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr*[121]; Abū Naṣr Manṣūr ibn Aḥmad al-ʿIrāqī (d. after 420 AH/1029 AC), *Al-Ishārah fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr*[122]; and Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833 AH/1429 AC), *Al-Nashr fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr*,[123] *Taqrīb al-Nashr fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr*,[124] *Taḥbīr al-Taysīr fī Qirā'āt al-Aʾimmah al-ʿAsharah*,[125] and *Ṭayyibat al-Nashr fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr*.[126]

The following scholars wrote books in support of eight recitations: Ibn Ghalbūn (d. 399 AH/1008 AC), *Al-Tadhkirah fī al-Qirā'āt al-Thamān*[127]; Abū Maʿshar (d. 448 AH/1056 AC), *Kitāb al-Talkhīṣ fī al-Qirā'āt al-Thamān*[128]; Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 560 AH/1164 AC), *Kitāb al-Mufīd fī al-Qirā'āt al-Thamān* (an abridgement of Abū Maʿshar's *Kitāb al-Talkhīṣ* [mentioned above]);[129] and Sibṭ al-Khayyat (d. 541 AH/1146 AC), *Al-Mubhij fī al-Qirā'āt al-Thamān*. In addition to them are the readings of Ibn Muḥayṣin, al-Aʿmash, Khalaf, and al-Yazīdī.[130]

Finally, other scholars devoted their books to the recitations of all or just one of the three additional *qurrā'*: al-Dānī (d. 444 AH/1052 AC), *Mufradat Ya'qūb*[131]; Ibn al-Faḥḥām (d. 516 AH/1122 AC), *Mufradat Ya'qūb*[132]; Abū Muḥammad al-Sa'īdī (d. after 650 AH/1212 AC), *Mufradat Ya'qūb*[133]; and Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833 AH/1429 AC), *Al-Durrah al-Mutammimah fī al-Qirā'āt al-'Ashr*[134] (the readings of Abū Ja'far, Ya'qūb, and Khalaf, *Sharḥ al-Samnūdī 'alā Matn al-Durrah al-Mutammimah fī al-Qirā'āt al-'Ashr*).[135]

THE DEFINITION OF "ANOMALOUS"

According to Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, and later Abū Shāmah and Ibn al-Jazarī, anomalous (*shādhdh*) refers to a recitation that has been narrated as Qur'an without a successive transmission or at least a well-known (*mashhūr*) transmission accepted by the people. He refers to the material contained in Ibn Jinnī's *Al-Muḥtasib fī Tabyīn Wujūh Shawādhdh al-Qirā'āt wa al-Īḍāḥ 'anhā*[136] as an example.[137] Makkī and Ibn al-Jazarī define it as a recitation that contradicts the orthography of the copies of the 'Uthmānic writ or of Arabic, although its chain might be authentic. Alternatively, its chain is inauthentic even though the recitation corresponds with the orthography and fluent Arabic. Another alternative is that it corresponds with the three conditions but is not well-known and is rejected by the people.[138]

However, according to most scholars, any recitation that is not transmitted in a successive manner is considered anomalous.[139] Thus, al-Qasṭallānī states that such recitations are not regarded as Qur'an for they are not successive. In support, he quotes the *uṣūlīs*, the *fuqahā'*, and other scholars, and also states that al-Ghazālī, Ibn al-Ḥājib, al-Qāḍī 'Aḍud al-Dīn, al-Nawawī, al-Sakhāwī, and most scholars object to such recitations.[140]

Al-Nawawī says that using anomalous recitations on any occasion, including prayers, is forbidden. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr states that all scholars reject such recitations.[141] Al-Qasṭallānī refers to al-Adhru'ī, al-Zarkashī, al-Asnawī, al-Nasa'ī, al-Tirmidhī, and al-'Asqalānī as forbidding people to use anomalous recitations.[142] Abū Shāmah quotes his teacher, al-Sakhāwī (with his approval), as agreeing with this statement because such recitations contradict the Muslims' consensus and the condition of successiveness.[143]

Al-Ṣafāqisī quotes al-Nuwayrī as allowing the use of anomalous recitations to interpret the Qur'an for linguistic purposes and also as a source to substantiate arguments in Islamic law. While some jurists support this view, most scholars do not. According to al-Nuwayrī, earlier scholars who were reported to have used such recitations must have done so only for the two purposes mentioned above, but never as Qur'an.[144]

How does one identify such recitations? Ibn al-Jazarī says that all books on the recitations are divided into two categories based on who wrote them:

1. Those who compiled the accepted recitations and whose recitations the people agreed upon unanimously, such as the two books entitled *Al-Ghāyah* by Ibn Marhān and al-Hamadānī, Ibn Mujāhid's *Al-Sabʿah*, al-Qalānisī's *Irshād al-Mubtadiʾ*, al-Dānī's *Al-Taysīr*, al-Ahwāzī's *Mūjaz*, Makkī's *Al-Tabṣirah*, Ibn Shurayḥ's *Al-Kāfī*, Abū Maʿshar al-Ṭabarī's *Al-Talkhīṣ*, al-Safrāwī's *Al-Iʿlān*, Ibn al-Faḥḥām's *Al-Tajrīd*, and al-Shāṭibī's *Ḥirz al-Amānī*.
2. Those who compiled books or the recitations that they received, whether they were successive or anomalous, such as the books of Sibṭ al-Khayyāṭ, Abū Maʿshar, al-Hadhalī, Shanrazūrī, Abū ʿAlī al-Mālikī, Ibn Fāris, and Abū ʿAlī al-Ahwāzī.[145]

He mentions that some unnamed scholars accepted anomalous recitations attributed to the codices of some Companions and the Successors. He states that most scholars object to these recitations because they are not successive and that, even if they were authentic in transmission, they were abrogated by the final approved copy of the Qur'an or by the Companions' consensus on the copies of the ʿUthmānic writ.[146]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF "ANOMALOUS"

After the ʿUthmānic writ and its copies were made and distributed, all other recitations were regarded as anomalous, since they differed from the official orthography, and were abandoned and destroyed.

Thus, a new field emerged: determining if a recitation were accepted or anomalous. The first scholar to enter this new field was Ibn Mujāhid who, after introducing his *Al-Sabʿah*, asserts that all other recitations are anomalous. At this stage, Ibn Jinnī composed his *Al-Muḥtasib*, and Ibn Khālawayh wrote his *Al-Badīʿ* and *Al-Mukhtaṣar*. Both of them agree with Ibn Mujāhid, as Ibn Jinnī[147] reports that the people of his time described them as anomolous.[148] Accordingly, "anomolous" here does not necessarily mean that which is linguistically anomalous (*lughah shādhdhah*).[149]

The next step consisted of introducing the three conditions for the accepted recitations in order to determine which readings were anomolous. This accommodated the other three recitations, while four additional ones were finally regarded as anomalous. These latter ones are:

The Qari	*His District*	*First Transmitter*	*Second Transmitter*
Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī	Basrah	Shujāʿ	Al-Dūrī
(d. 21 AH/614 AC)		(190 AH/805 AC)	(d. 246 AH/860 AC)
Ibn Muḥayṣin	Makkah	Al-Bazzī	Ibn Shunbūdh
(d. 123 AH/740 AC)		(d. 250 AH/864 AC)	(328 AH/939 AC)
Al-Aʿmash	Kufah	Al-Shunbūdhī	Al-Muṭawwiʿī
(d. 148 AH/765 AC)		(388 AH/998 AC)	(371 AH/981 AC)
Yaḥyā al-Yazīdī	Baghdad	Sulaymān ibn	Aḥmad ibn
(d. 202 AH/817 AC)		al-Ḥakam	Farah
		(235 AH/849 AC)	(d. 303 AH/915 AC)[150]

They are included in al-Bannāʾ al-Dimyāṭī's *Itḥāf Fuḍalāʾ al-Bashar bi al-Qirāʾāt al-Arabaʿata ʿAshar*.[151]

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE QUR'AN AND THE RECITATIONS

Al-Zarkashī, followed by al-Qasṭallānī and al-Bannāʾ, differentiates between the Qur'an and the recitations. According to him, the Qur'an is the revelation miraculously revealed to the Prophet, while the recitations are the orthographical, phonetical, and linguistic variations that occur when it is recited.[152] In fact, no major difference exists between the authentic recitations and the Qur'an, and the relation between them is that of the parts to the whole. Although there is an overlapping and close connection between them, what is part of the Qur'an and what is not remains clear.

Ibn al-Jazarī, who does not compare the definitions of the Qur'an and the recitations, chooses al-Zarkashī's definition of the latter as the science of knowing the agreement of the transmitters, how they differ in transmitting the Qur'an in regards to dialect (*lughah*) and vocalization (*iʿrāb*), and the orthographical differences between the copies of the ʿUthmānic writ.[153]

COMPILING THE RECITATIONS AND THE EARLIEST COMPILERS

In the beginning, various scholars started collecting and writing books on all of the recitations that they could find. The first scholar known to have done this is Yaḥyā ibn Yaʿmur (d. 129 AH/746 AC), who wrote a book according to the copies of the ʿUthmānic writ.[154] Next, Yaʿqūb ibn Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 205 AH/820 AC) wrote one on the recitations called *Al-Jāʿmi*.[155]

Ibn al-Jazarī credits Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām (d. 224 AH/838 AC), whose book is reported to have included 25 recitations, with this distinction.[156] Many scholars who studied the recitations of the cities followed him. For example, Aḥmad ibn Jubayr al-Kūfī (d. 258 AH/871 AC) wrote a book on the recitations of the five cities, selecting a *qāri'* from each one. Ismāʿīl ibn Isḥāq al-Mālikī (d. 282 AH/895 AC), whose book contains the recitations of 20 *qurrā'*, was followed by al-Ṭabarī, whose book contains more than 20 recitations, and al-Dājūnī (d. 324 AH/ 935 AC), whose book includes 11 recitations. After them came Ibn Mujāhid, the first scholar to introduce the seven *qurrā'* and select them from Madinah, Makkah, Kufah, Basrah, and Damascus.[157] His book, *Kitāb al-Sabʿah*,[158] contains the recitations of the following *qurrā'*:

The Qāri'	*His District*
Nāfiʿ (d. 169 AH/785 AC)	Madinah
Ibn Kathīr (d. 120 AH/737 AC)	Makkah
Ibn ʿĀmir (d. 118 AH/736 AC)	Damascus
Abū Amr (d. 154 AH/770 AC)	Basrah
ʿĀṣim (d. 128 AH/744 AC)	Kufah
Ḥamzah (d. 156 AH/722 AC)	Kufah
Al-Kisā'ī (d. 189 AH/804 AC)	Kufah

Certain contemporaneous scholars criticize Ibn Mujāhid's work on the grounds that it confused the masses about the relationship of the seven styles of recitation (*aḥruf*) to the seven canonical recitations (*qirā'āt*).[159] To solve this problem, some scholars composed books on the recitations of only one *qāri'* or of eight or ten *qurrā'*.[160]

In support of Ibn Mujāhid's book, his pupil Abū Ṭāhir ibn Abū Hāshim states that people misunderstood Ibn Mujāhid, who was far too intelligent to make such a mistake.[161] Some scholars claim that he selected seven recitations simply because he wanted this number to agree with the fact that the Qur'an was revealed in seven styles of recitation.[162] In his introduction, Ibn Mujāhid mentions that he selected these seven *qurrā'* based on the evaluation of the men rather than of their recitations.[163]

Although the transmitters of his *Al-Sabʿah* were numerous, Ibn Mujāhid selected only two or three of them for each *qāri'*. He then reduced them further, in order to make it easier for people to recite the Qur'an, by choosing the two most prominent transmitters. According to him, the following ones are the most knowledgeable and reliable:

The Qāri'	*His First Transmitter*	*His Second Transmitter*
Nāfi'	Qālūn (d. 220 AH/835 AC)	Warsh (d. 197 AH/812 AC)
Ibn Kathīr	Al-Bazzī (d. 250 AH/854 AC)	Qunbul (d. 219 AH/903 AC)
Ibn 'Āmir	Hishām (d. 245 AH/859 AC)	Ibn Dhakwān (d. 42 AH/856 AC)
Abū 'Amr	Al-Dūrī (d. 246 AH/860 AC)	Al-Sūsī (d. 261 AH/874 AC)
'Āṣim	Shu'bah (d. 193 AH/809 AC)	Ḥafṣ (d. 180 AH/805 AC)
Ḥamzah	Khalaf (d. 229 AH/843 AC)	Khallād (d. 220 AH/835 AC)
Al-Kisā'ī	Abū al-Ḥarith (d. 240 AH/864 AC)	Al-Dūrī (d. 246 AH/860 AC)[164]

Ibn Mujāhid's work was adopted and revived by his followers, such as Makkī ibn Abū Ṭālib al-Qaysī, who wrote *Al-Tabṣirah fī al-Qirā'āt al-Sab'*[165] and *Al-Kashf 'an Wujūh al-Qirā'āt al-Sab'*,[166] and al-Dānī, whose *Al-Taysīr* has become the standard work for students of the seven recitations in their fourteen versions.

Ibn Mujāhid regards all readings not mentioned in his *Al-Sab'ah* as anomolous.[167] Other scholars reject this view on the grounds that many *qurrā'* are supposed to have been equal to or even greater than those found in his *Al-Sab'ah*, such as Abū Ja'far of Madinah (d. 128 AH/747 AC), the teacher of Nāfi' and whom Ibn Mujāhid himself mentioned in his introduction as a learned and respected *Qāri'*. Furthermore, Ya'qūb al-Ḥadramī of Basrah (d. 205 AH/820 AC) appeared in this book only to be replaced later on with al-Kisā'ī. In addition to these two, some scholars assert that Khalaf al-Baghdādī's (d. 229 AH/843 AC) recitation is just as authentic as those found in *Al-Sab'ah*. Thus, according to this view, there are ten successive recitations, the three latter readings having been added to the seven of Ibn Mujāhid.[168]

Still other scholars say that some or all recitations of the following *qurrā'* are authentic and accepted: Ibn Muḥayṣin (d. 123 AH/740 AC) of Makkah, al-Yazīdī (d. 202 AH/817 AC) of Basrah, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110 AH/720 AC) of Basrah, and al-A'mash (d. 148 AH/765 AC) of Kufah. In support of this, they point out that a recitation's acceptability should be subject only to the conditions mentioned above and that the transmission of some or all of them is authentic according to the cities or people who received it in a successive manner.[169] However, al-Qasṭallānī asserts that the four recitations that come after the ten generally accepted ones are considered anomolous,[170] as do Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, Abū Naṣr al-Subkī, his son Abū al-Ḥasan, and al-Baghawī.[171]

In conclusion, variant readings have existed since the Prophet's time, and all people claimed that the Prophet had taught them to recite it in that

particular way. The Successors continued this practice, and some of the distinguished *qurrā'* among them were sent to different cities to teach the people. As the number of *qurrā'* increased, some became famous and devoted themselves to the recitations. Hence, they became identified with a certain recitation. Eventually, Ibn Mujāhid canonized the seven highly esteemed recitations, although an additional three are said to have enjoyed the same status.

The successive recitations, as well as the meaning and development of "anomalous" recitations, were studied. Thus, we find that a recitation's acceptability is subject to the conditions ruling it. Moreover, the seven recitations (*qirā'āt*) differ entirely from the seven styles of recitation (*aḥruf*), since the first compilers and authors who dealt with this subject collected an unlimited number of recitations. The method of transmission is the most important condition for accepting a recitation, for all recitations that do not correspond with it or with the other two conditions (agreement with the copies of the ʿUthmānic writ and the Arabic language) are regarded as anomolous, obscure, or unacceptable.

CHAPTER 7

Selecting a Recitation

Selecting a recitation, a process known as *ikhtiyār*, is based on the individual scholar's informed choice of the most authentic and fluent ways of reciting.[1] The *qurrā'* employed three conditions for an accepted recitation: fluency of Arabic, correspondence with the copies of the 'Uthmānic writ, and the *'āmmah's* acceptance of them.[2] The term *'āmmah* is interpreted as meaning either the people of Madinah and Kufah (a strong reason for selecting it) or the people of Makkah and Madinah.[3]

Ibn al-Jazarī states that the *qurrā'* selected and preferred certain recitations for themselves and for teaching their students. However, they never invented or composed anything, for that would have been unacceptable.[4] In this connection, the word *ikhtiyār* occurs frequently in those books dealing with the recitations, for example:

1. The *ikhtiyār* of Ya'qūb is followed by the common [people] of Basrah.[5]
2. The people agreed upon their *ikhtiyār* (i.e., the *qurrā'* of the ten recitations).[6]
3. In this book I have mentioned the recitations of distinguished *qurrā'* who were famous due to their recitations and *ikhtiyārāt*.[7]
4. In the work attributed to him, *Al-Hujjah fī al-Qirā'āt al-Sab'*,[8] Ibn Khālawayh says that the seven *qurrā'* based their *ikhtiyār* on the traditions.[9]

The *qāri'* must depend upon the traditions for any selection, for he is allowed no discretion when it comes to considering anamolous recitations, all of which have been rejected.[10] After selecting and compiling the recitations, scholars started writing books to establish the authenticity of the selected recitations based on the criteria mentioned above. Given the philologists differences over the degree of fluency required, their selections differed.

Al-Mubarrid (d. 285 AH/898 AC), author of *Kitāb Iḥtijāj al-Qirā'āt*, is the first scholar known to have written on this subject.[11] After him came Abū Bakr ibn al-Sarrāj's (d. 316 AH/928 AC) *Kitāb Iḥtijāj al-Qirā'āt*[12]; Ibn Darastuwayh's (d. after 330 AH/941 AC) *Kitāb al-Iḥtijāj li al-Qurrā'*[13]; Ibn Miqsam's (d. 332 AH/943 AC) *Kitāb Iḥtijāj al-Qirā'āt*, *Kitāb al-Sab'ah bi 'Ilalihā al-Kabīr*, *Kitāb al-Sab'ah al-Awsaṭ*, and *Kitāb al-Sab'ah al-Saghīr* (also known as *Shifā' al-Ṣudūr*)[14]; Abū Ṭāhir 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Bazzār (d. 349 AH/960 AC), a pupil of Ibn Mujāhid and author of *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li Ḥamzah*[15]; Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Anṣārī (d. 351 AH/962 AC), to whom is attributed *Kitāb al-Sab'ah bi 'Ilalihā al-Kabīr*[16]; Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370 AH/980 AC), to whom is attributed *Kitāb al-Ḥujjah fī al-Qirā'āt al-Sab'ah*[17]; Abū 'Alī al-Fārisi, the author of a large book in support of his teacher Ibn Mujāhid's *Kitāb al-Sab'ah* entitled *Kitāb al-Ḥujjah li al-Qurrā' al-Sab'ah*[18]; Abū Zar'ah 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Zanjalah (one of al-Fārisi's students), whose *Ḥujjatu al-Qirā'āt*[19] was composed before 403 AH/1012 CE[20]; and Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Idrīs, whose *Al-Mukhtār fī Ma'ānī Qirā'āt Ahl al-Amṣār* includes Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍramī's recitation in addition to the seven of Ibn Mujāhid.[21] In the fifth Islamic century, we find Makkī's (d. 437 AH/1080 AC) book *Al-Kashf 'an Wujūh al-Qirā'āt al-Sab'* wa *'Ilalihā wa Ḥujajihā*.[22]

REFUTATION OF THE FREEDOM TO CHOOSE A RECITATION

Ibn al-Bāqillānī is concerned that people might misinterpret these differences as meaning that the *qurrā'* could choose any recitation. He asserts that they could not, for all scholars have agreed that a recitation can be accepted only if it has been transmitted with authentic chains. Moreover, according to him, this is the *qurrā'*'s most essential and obvious practice, since they accepted any recitation that they heard on the grounds that it might be authentic and have a correct chain of transmission, until it was proven to be unacceptable. For example, al-A'mash says that when he recited differently from what his teacher Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī had taught him, the latter would not say, "It is wrong" but, "Recite so and so."[23]

Ibn al-Bāqillānī comments that since this was the Salaf's practice, it is unlikely that the *qurrā'* would ignore this when reciting the Qur'an.[24] Many distinguished and famous *qurrā'* make similar claims. For example:

1. Nāfi' says that he learned the Qur'an from 70 *qurrā'* among the Followers, and that he bases his selection on the agreement of two of them.[25]

2. Ibn Mujāhid states that Nāfiʿ was following the tradition of the earlier *qurrāʾ*.[26]
3. Sufyān al-Thawrī supported the reading of Ḥamzah on the grounds that "he had not read a single letter (*ḥarf*) of the Qur'an without depending on tradition (*āthār*)."[27]
4. Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlāʾ said that if he had been free to recite as he wished, he would have read so and so.[28]
5. Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlāʾ was asked if he had heard his own recitations and selected recitation from the Salaf. He replied that if he had not heard it, he would not have recited it, because the Qur'an should be recited according to the sunnah (i.e., narration).[29]

Accordingly, Ibn al-Bāqillānī states that it is forbidden to recite in a way that does not correspond with the tradition.[30]

As regards how the *qurrāʾ* supported their selection through citing grammatical and other evidence, Ibn al-Bāqillānī says that all of them agree that their selections were transmitted directly from the Prophet and that there is no objection to adding other logical evidence to support that particular narration. Each *qāriʾ* is only explaining why he has chosen a particular recitation, which does not involve rejecting or refuting the others. In support of his own selection, Ibn al-Bāqillānī says that this way is the most fluent in Arabic and more beautiful than the others.[31]

Furthermore, al-Qasṭallānī states that one's preference for certain recitations is based only on how closely it conforms to Arabic's most eloquent and best-known characteristics, since they are all authentic and accepted.[32] Hence, linguistic evidence is used only to substantiate the reason for one's selection, but never as the sole reason. Here, Ibn al-Munayyir disagrees with al-Zamakhsharī, who thought that the seven *qurrāʾ* had selected readings as if they were free from the condition of narration.[33] Scholars can still select any authentic readings provided that it is based on the narration and used by qualified and authorized *qurrāʾ*.[34]

The right of selecting a particular recitation is governed by tradition. Employing a free hand in using synonyms or reciting according to the word's meanings are not regarded as selection for doing so contradicts the conditions for acceptability. Hence, such practices are rejected and considered even worse than anomalous recitations.[35] All scholars agree that such a recitation is forbidden and that it should be stopped and destroyed. Certain examples, which are attributed to personal codices, were regarded as either

inauthentic in their transmission or as having been abrogated after the Revelation ended.[36]

Goldziher cites examples of such rejected recitations to conclude that they were used to make fundamental changes in the successive recitations.[37] However, he ignores the fact that all of them are considered anamolous and isolated, instead of successive.[38] On the other hand, Abū ʿUbaydah says that these anomalous recitations are to be used only to explain the meanings of the well-known recitations.[39]

The Qur'an's written text represents the first style of recitation in which it was revealed.[40] Thus the other accepted ways of recitation, regardless of the scholars' different interpretations, are only variations that must correspond with the narration. In this respect, the Companions and the Successors referred any disputed recitations to the Prophet's teachings, as in the above-mentioned case of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Hishām ibn Ḥakīm.[41]

Ibn Khālawayh states in his *Kitāb I'rāb Thalāthīn Sūrah min al-Qur'ān al-Karīm*[42] that the only authentic and accepted recitation for the beginning of 87:1 is *sabbiḥ isma Rabbika*, although linguistically it could be recited as *sabbiḥ (bi) ism(i) Rabbika*, as we find elsewhere in the Qur'an, or *fasbbiḥ bi ḥamdi Rabbika* (15:98). But since this recitation does not conform to the narration, it is rejected.[43]

Ibn al-Jazarī asserts that one is forbidden to use free analogy when selecting certain recitations, for ʿUmar, Zayd, Ibn al-Mukandir, ʿUrwah, ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and al-Shaʿbī, and others have said: "Recitation should be according to the *sunnah* (i.e., transmission of generations, one from each other), and everyone should read as he has been taught."[44]

The copies of the ʿUthmānic writ contained no vocalization and dotting so that the various authentic recitations could be preserved. However, these corresponded with the compiled copies' orthography and could not be used to create any possible recitation that the Qur'anic text would allow.[45] For example, in his *Al-Kitāb*,[46] Sībawayh supports some recitations and objects to others, although they might be substantiated linguistically, claiming that each recitation should agree with the *sunnah* and be accepted by the people.[47] He uses certain recitations in support of grammatical arguments to substantiate the authenticity of certain grammatical constructions. For example, he says a certain construction is authentic because it appears in the recitation of the people of Madinah.[48]

The Companions and the Successors selected specific recitations and explained why they did so. The first Companion known to have done this was Ibn ʿAbbās,[49] who recited *nanshuruhā* (2:259) and substantiated his

choice by quoting "*thumma idhā shā'a ansharah*" (80:22). Among the earlier philologists, we find al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad and his student Sībawayh using grammatical, morphological, and phonetical evidence to substantiate the authenticity of certain recitations.[50]

We also notice this in the discussions of Qur'anic scholars and in books on such topics as Qur'anic commentary (*tafsīr*),[51] meanings of the Qur'an (*ma'ānī al-Qur'ān*),[52] and vocalization of the Qur'an (*i'rāb al-Qur'ān*).[53] For example, in his *Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān wa I'rābūh*,[54] al-Zujjāj undertakes a linguistic study of the various ways of reciting *al-ḥamdu* (1:2) and chooses to recite it with a *dammah* because it corresponds with the authentic narration.[55] Hārūn Ibn Mūsā al-A'war (d. before 200 AH/815 AC) gathered certain recitations and investigated their transmission and other evidence in order to authenticate them.[56] His contemporaries objected to his work, saying that each recitations' acceptability and authenticity should be subject only to its successive transmission.[57]

Abū Ḥayyān reports that Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā preferred none of the seven recitations and said: "When the seven *qurrā'* differ concerning *i'rāb* and the Qur'an, I do not prefer one to another. But when I turn to the ordinary speech of the people, I prefer the form that is stronger." Abū Ḥayyān agrees with this, referring to Abū al-'Abbās as reliable, a man of religion, and a scholar of grammar and language.[58]

Numerous variations in the ways of reciting occurred because the copies of the 'Uthmānic writ contained no vocalization and dotting. Hence, the *qurrā'* were faced with a wide variety of possible readings.[59] An early example of this tendency is provided by Ibn Miqsam (d. 328 AH/939 AC), who relied only on the written text of the 'Uthmānic writ and the Arabic language. However, the 'Abbāsid authorities of his time, backed by the consensus of Qur'anic scholars, forbade him to propogate his views on the grounds that his approach was invalid because he did not subject his recitation to the narration.[60] In other words, he recited in a style that existed before the compilation of the 'Uthmānic writ and the subsequent actions that established it as the canonical text.[61]

If people could have recited in any way compatible with the 'Uthmānic writ's orthography, perhaps all such recitations would have been accepted. For example, from the grammatical point of view, *kun fa yakūn* (3:47 and 36:82) can be recited either with a *fatḥah* or a *dammah*. But the only way accepted in 3:47 is with a *dammah*, while both ways are accepted in 36:82.[62]

Another example is found in 22:23, where in the 'Uthmānic writ *lu'lu'ān* is written with *alif*. If the *qurrā'* had only followed the orthography,

they would have recited it with a *fatḥah* in the first example and with a *kasrah* in the latter. However, Nāfiʿ and ʿĀṣim recite both words with a *fatḥah*, while the rest of the *qurrāʾ* recite the first one with a *fatḥah* and the latter one with a *kasrah*.[63]

In regard to dotting, the only way of reciting for 2:123 is *wa lā tanfaʿuhā shafāʿatun*, while a similar example is recited with both *yāʾ* and *tāʾ* in 2:48: *wa lā yuqbalu minhā shafāʿatun* and *wa lā tuqbalu minhā shafāʿatun*.[64] In 4:94, the word فتبينوا is recited as both *fa tathabbatū* and *fa tabayyanū*, because both were transmitted. But in 9:114, the word اياه can be recited, according to the orthography, as إيّاهُ (*iyyāhu*). This is the authentic recitation attributed to the people, while the other possible way, أباهُ (*abāhu*), is an anomalous recitation that contradicts the common recitation and is regarded as strange, although it is attributed to Ḥammād al-Rāwiyah. Furthermore, in 7:48, the people recite تستكبرون as *tastakbirūn*, as opposed to *tastakthirūn*, which is regarded as anomalous on the grounds that it contradicts the narration.[65]

On the other hand, certain words have more than one authentic recitation (e.g., Jibrīl, Jabrīl, Jahraʾīl, and Jabraʾīl), while the orthography itself does not provide them all.[66] This fact that some Qurʾanic words can be written differently from the usual way, but still only indicate a single recitation, confirms the narration's importance. Some examples of this are لأذبحنّه (*la adhbaḥannahu*) (27:21), لشاىء (*li shayʾin*) (18:23), and وجاىء (*wa jīʾa*) (89:23), with the addition of an *alif*, which are read as *la adhbaḥannahū*, *li shayʾin*, and *jīʾa*, respectively; as well as بأيد (*bi ayyidīn*) (51:47) and بأيكم (*bi ayyiykum*) (68:6), with the addition of a *yāʾ*, which are read as *bi aydin* and *bi ayyikum*, respectively.[67] Accordingly, the original basis of any recitation is the narration, upon which the orthography always depends.[68] Hence, in practice we find that even though the *qurrāʾ* did not agree upon the recitation of every single word, all of their recitations were orthographically the same. For example, they agree on *mālik al-mulk* (3:26) and *malik al-nās* (114:2), but not on 1:4, where some of them recited *malik* and others read *mālik*. However, all of these recitations are authentic because their transmissions are sound.[69]

Moreover, we find theoretical ways of reciting that correspond with the orthography of the ʿUthmānic writ's copies and agree with the Arabic language, but which no *qurrāʾ* is reported to have used. This also tends to confirm the narration's importance. In this connection, scholars refer to *wa Qurʾānan faraqnāhu li taqraʾahu ʿalā al-nāsi ʿalā mukthin* (17:106), which, from the linguistic point of view, could be recited as *mukth*, *makth*, and *mikth*. And yet the *qurrāʾ* recite it only as *mukth*.[70]

Goldziher theorizes that these different recitations arise from certain *qurrā'* interpreting a vocalized and undotted text in accordance with their own understanding at a relatively late date. But this theory overlooks the narration's importance and ignores the existence of many scholars who devoted their studies to this subject. Regardless of why the variant accepted or anomalous recitations exist, his explanations do not seem to rest on any real evidence. For example, he cites a report that Qatādah (d. 117 AH/735) recited *fa aqīlū anfusakum* (2:54) instead of the authentic *fa uqtulū anfusakum*. He maintains that since Qatādah considered the latter to convey a severe punishment that was incompatible with the sin mentioned, he recited it in this alternative way. Commenting on this, Goldziher says: "In this example we see an objective point of view which was the reason behind the differing reading."[71]

However, this is easily refuted, for all versions except one report that Qatādah recited *fa uqtulū anfusakum* and interpreted it as meaning that they stood fighting each other in two rows until they were asked to stop, with the result of martyrdom for those who were killed and repentance for those who remained alive.[72] Al-Qurṭubī, who reports that Qatādah recited *fa aqīlū anfusakum*, interprets *aqīlū* (save) as "save yourselves from error by killing," thereby giving it the same meaning as *aqtulū*.[73]

Goldziher also cites 48:9, where he uses certain authentic recitations as opposed to others. He notes that some *qurrā'* recited *tu'azzirūhu* as *tu'azzizūhu* (using *zāy* instead of *rā'*), because, he suggests, they may have wished to avoid the former word because it implies material aid, while the latter word is less restricted in meaning.[74] In fact, however, both words occur in the Qur'an (e.g., in 7:157 and 48:9) with no apparent difference in meaning. Furthermore, the Arabic lexicon gives *'azzara* and *naṣara* the same meaning. Ibn Manẓūr interprets *'azzarahu* as *fakhkhamahu, wa 'azzamahu, wa a'ānahu, wa qawwāhu*, and *wa naṣarahu*. In support of this, he quotes *li tu'azzirūhu wa tuwaqqirūhu* (48:9) and *wa 'azzartumūhum* (5:12)[75] and adds that in Arabic, *al-tāzīr* means *al-naṣr* by tongue and sword. He reports that Waraqah ibn Nawfal said in support of the Prophet at the very beginning of the Revelation: "If he is sent while I am alive, I will aid him" (*sa u'azziruhu wa anṣuruhu*). Ibn Manẓūr says that here *al-ta'zīr* means "aid, elevated respect, and succor time after time."[76] Thus it cannot be said that *'azzara* and *'azzaza* differ in meaning.

Using the same general approach, Goldziher considers that certain differences among the *qurrā'* are due to their fear of attributing to God and His Apostle something that may detract from their attributes. He cites *bal 'ajibta*

wa yaskharūn (37:12) (Truly do they marvel while they ridicule), which some of Kufah's *qurrā'* recited as *'ajibta* while others recited it as *'ajibtu*. He argues that the Qur'anic commentators interpreted *'ajab* as referring to God, although some prefer to attribute the "marveling" to the Prophet, since it is inappropriate to attribute this to God. He maintains that the original meaning is *'ajibtu* and quotes al-Ṭabarī in support of his interpretation.

In fact, however, al-Ṭabarī authenticates and accepts both readings on the grounds that the Qur'an has been revealed in two ways.[77] But he also mentions that Shurayḥ (d. 80 AH/699 AC) recited *'ajibta* and objected to *'ajibtu*, saying that *'ajab* cannot be attributed to God. However, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī objects to Shurayh's argument and states that 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd, who used to recite *'ajibtu*, was more knowledgable than Shurayḥ.[78] According to Goldziher, the two recitations contradict one another and al-Ṭabarī's acceptance of both indicates that it was hard during his time to abandon one reading in favor of the other.[79] However, al-Ṭabarī confirms the authenticity of both recitations and asserts that, although they differ in meaning, they are both correct and sound. In support of this view, he states that the Prophet marveled at the verses that he was given, that the polytheists ridiculed him for this, and that God marveled at what the polytheists said.

Al-Qurṭubī reports that 'Alī ibn Sulaymān said that both recitations agree to give one meaning and that both *'ajibta* and *'ajibtu* refer to the Prophet. He also quotes Abū Ja'far al-Naḥḥās as approving of this interpretation and regarding it as sound. Al-Qurṭubī adds that *bal 'ajibtu* may mean something like, "Truly, their action is heinous in my eyes," and quotes al-Bayhaqī, who connected *'ajība* in this context with the hadith *'ajiba Rabbuka*.[80] Al-Naqqāsh interprets *bal 'ajibtu* as *bal ankartu*. Al-Ḥasan ibn al-Fadl supports this by stating that *'ajab*, when it refers to God, means *inkār* and *ta'zīm* and that this is an old Arab usage (*wa huwa lughāt al-'Arab*).[81]

In fact, if the acceptable recitations were not subject to the transmission, or if their supposed fear of attributing certain defects to God and His Apostle led the *qurrā'* to change some ways of reciting, as Goldziher thinks, one might expect them to have changed other words in the Qur'an. In fact, they did nothing more than interpret them according to the Arabic language. For example:

> God disdains not (*lā yastaḥī*) to use the similitude of things [that are the] lowest as well as [the] highest. (2:26)

> They plot and plan, and God also plans, but the best of planners is God. (8:30)

> Nay, both His hands are widely outstretched. He gives and spends (of His bounty, as He pleases). (5:64)
>
> Soon shall We settle your affairs, O both you worlds! (55:31)[82]

Shurayḥ's opinion is rejected and regarded as unacceptable on the grounds that it contradicts the transmission.[83] Moreover, there is no evidence whatsoever for Goldziher's hypothesis that *'ajibtu* is the original reading. The Qur'anic commentators interpret the verse so that both recitations confirm one another,[84] and the *qurrā'* accept and authenticate them because they agree with the necessary conditions.[85]

Goldziher also argues that in 12:110, the original recitation is *kadhabū*, which confused the Muslims and caused them to look for a way to discard this recitation. According to him, many solutions were suggested, a fact that indicates that it was the original one and that *kudhibū* and *kudhdhibū* were introduced later on by the *qurrā'*.[86] Once again, however, it seems pointless to assert that any one recitation is the original, since the Qur'anic text provides no evidence for such a claim. In fact, this recitation is attributed only to Mujāhid.[87] Indeed, some scholars assert that *kudhibū* and *kudhdhibū*, which are the common ones, are the original recitations and that the anomalous recitation attributed solely to Mujāhid is derived from the two authentic recitations,[88] and not the opposite, as Goldziher maintained.[89]

Mujāhid interpreted the verse as meaning: "When the Apostles gave up hope of their people (who rejected their message) being punished and that their people thought that the Apostles told a lie, Our help reached them."[90] However, al-Ṭabarī states that this recitation was rejected for it contradicts the authentic recitations of the cities. Furthermore, he argues, if it were permissible, it would have been interpreted in a way that did not contradict the successive recitations and that it would have been better than Mujāhid's. The best interpretation for Mujāhid's recitation, he writes, is: "Until when the Apostles give up hope of their people who treated them as liars – being punished by God – and the Apostles knew that their people lied."

Al-Ṭabarī opines, on the authority of al-Ḥasan and Qatādah, that *ẓann* can mean *'ilm* (knowledge).[91] Thus, both Mujāhid's recitation and interpretation contradict the consensus of the *qurrā'* and the Qur'anic commentators.[92] Ibn al-Jazarī states that Abū al-Qāsim al-Hudhalī, in his *Al-Kāmil*, attributes to Mujāhid certain recitations that have an inauthentic chain,[93] and claims that this book is full of errors concerning the recitations' chains, and that it contains unaccepted recitations that have no authentic chain.[94] Ibn Khālawayh also includes Mujāhid's recitation among the anomalous ones.[95]

Goldziher mentions ʿĀ'ishah's contribution to this discussion. However, his account is misleading because this discussion was concerned purely with *kudhdhibū* as opposed to *kudhibū*, which she rejected.[96] (However, she objected to Ibn ʿAbbās' interpretation rather than to the recitation itself.[97]). Al-Qasṭallānī argues that ʿĀ'ishah objected to *kidhibū* because she had not received it in a successive manner.[98] As for *kadhabū*, it does not appear at all in this discussion and Goldziher is mistaken when he supposes that she was objecting to *kadhabū*.

While Mujāhid's recitation is regarded as anomalous, being attributed only to him, two authentic and successive recitations are among the seven canonical recitations. The first is *kudhibū*, which is attributed to Ubayy, ʿAlī, Ibn Masʿūd, and Ibn ʿAbbās (Companions); to Mujāhid, Ṭalḥah, and al-Aʿmash (Successors); and to ʿĀṣim, Ḥamzah, and al-Kisā'ī, who represent the Kufans among the seven distinguished *qurrā'*.[99] Al-Zamakhsharī, who based his Qur'anic commentary on this reading, interprets it as: "Until when the Apostles thought that their souls were telling them a lie when they told them that they would be victorious" or "Their hope told them a lie."[100]

Goldziher misunderstands al-Zamakhsharī, believing that his interpretation represents *kadhabū*.[101] However, a careful reading confirms that it is based on *kudhibū*. The matter is further resolved by the fact that he mentions *kadhabū* separately, attributing it to Mujāhid.[102]

The second authentic recitation is *kudhdhibū*, which is attributed to ʿĀ'ishah[103]; al-Ḥasan, Qatādah, Muḥammad ibn Kaʿb, Abū Rajā' ibn Abū Mulaykah, and al-Aʿraj (Successors)[104]; and to Nāfiʿ, Ibn Kathīr, Ibn ʿĀmir, and Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlā among the seven distinguished *qurrā'*.[105] ʿĀ'ishah interpreted this verse as: "Until when the Apostles gave up hope of their people who had treated them as liars becoming believers, and the Apostles had come to think that they had been treated as liars among their own fellows, the help of God reached them."[106]

Al-Ṭabarī says that other scholars recited *kudhdhibū* and understood the verse as: "Until when the Apostles came to think that (meaning by *ẓann* in this context *ʿilm* [knowledge]) their people treated them as liars, there reached them Our help."[107] This latter interpretation of *ẓann* to mean *ʿilm* is attributed to al-Ḥasan and Qatādah. However, al-Ṭabarī objects, stating that it contradicts the Companions' views and that the Arabs use *ẓann* in place of *ʿilm* only when knowledge is acquired through reports or when it is not physically seen. Thus, in this verse, *ẓann* cannot mean *ʿilm*.[108]

In another example, which Goldziher also quotes in support of his theory, Ibn ʿAbbās recites *fa in āmanū bi mā āmantum bi hī* or *fa in āmānu bi*

al-ladhī āmantum bi hī, instead of the common recitations that corresponds with the ʿUthmānic writ: *fa in āmanū bi mithli mā āmantum bi hi* (2:137). Ibn ʿAbbās did so on the grounds that there is no being similar to God.[109] However, al-Ṭabarī states that this report contradicts the copies of the ʿUthmānic writ and the consensus of the *qurrā'*.[110] Furthermore, Ibn ʿAbbās agreed with the ʿUthmānic writ's recitation.[111] According to al-Ṭabarī, the interpretation should be: "When they believe in what is mentioned in this passage of the books of God and His prophets as you believe in them, they are indeed on the right path." He concludes that what is meant by similarity in this connection is the similarity between two beliefs, not between what is believed.[112]

On this point, al-Zajjāj argues that if someone were to ask if anything is similar to *īmān* (belief, faith) other than *īmān* itself, the reply would be that the meaning is clear: "If they believe as you believe in the prophets, and believe in unity as you do, they are on the straight path and have become Muslims like you."[113] Furthermore, the author of *Muqaddimat Kitāb al-Mabānī*[114] studies this verse's construction linguistically and supports its authenticity, saying: It means "if they believe as you believe," for *bā'* is added only for emphasis (*ta'kīd*). The sense of the phrase is *mithla mā āmantum bi hi*, and *mithl* added to provide corroboration (*tawkīd*). Thus, the sense of the phrase is *fa in āmānu bi mā āmantum bi hi*. In this connection, reference is made to 42:11, *laysa ka mithlihi shay'un* (nothing is like Him), where *mithl* is added to intensify the meaning: "There is nothing whatever like unto Him." Another example in support of this interpretation is the poetic verse "*Ka mithl al-shams idh bazaghat bi hā nuḥẓā wa mi'ṭāru*," where *mithl* is added for the same reason.[115]

Ibn Abū Dāwūd, who narrates this narration in different versions, objects to them all, stating that it is written *bi mithl mā āmantum bihi* in the *muṣḥaf al-imām* and in all of copies of the ʿUthmānic writ, and that it is accepted in the Arabic language. Given that the people of the cities and the Companions could never have agreed on an error, particularly as regards the Qur'an and reciting their prayers, he claims that it is correct and acceptable Arabic to say to a person who meets you in a manner of which you disapprove, "*A yustaqbalu mithlī bi hādhā?*" ("Does someone like me get treated like this?") He also quotes *laysa ka mithlihi shay'un* (42:11), which means *laysa ka mithli Rabbī shay'un*, and *lā yuqālu lī wa lā li mithtī* and *lā yuqālu li akhīka wa lā li mithli akhīka*, in which these expressions mean "myself."[116]

In conclusion, Ibn ʿAbbās's report, like many others that contradict the copies of the ʿUthmānic writ, is an isolated report that contradicts the suc-

cessive recitations accepted by all of the *qurrā'* because it does not meet the conditions for acceptance.

Ibn al-Jazarī states that the recitations may differ in meaning according to the seven styles of recitation but do not contradict one another, because the Qur'an cannot contradict itself: "Do they not consider the Qur'an (with care)? Had it been from other than God, they would surely have found therein much discrepancy" (4:82).[117]

Goldziher, who does not accept this claim, presents several examples of "contradiction." One of them appears in 30:2-4. Here, he argues that the two recitations of *ghalabat ... sayughlabūna* and *ghulibat ... sayaghlibūna* contradict each other, because the victorious (in the former recitation) are the defeated (in the latter recitation). He maintains that most of the *qurrā'* used the first one[118] and that the Muslim scholars regarded the Byzantines' victory in 3 AH/625 AC as one of the Prophet's miracles, because the event took place according to his prophecy (although, according to Goldziher, it indicates no more than a hope).[119]

In fact, the first recitation is only attributed to some Companions (e.g., ʿAlī, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, Ibn ʿAbbās, and Ibn ʿUmar) and Successors (e.g., Muʿāwiyah ibn Qurrah and al-Hasan).[120] However, it is considered anomalous because the scholars reject it. The only authentic recitation accepted by the people and regarded as successive is the second one.[121] But the first one does not contradict the meaning of the second one, if the historical accounts are studied carefully. Or, as al-Alūsī puts it, two recitations can differ from each other in regard to their meaning (provided that they do not contradict each other and that there is no contradiction in a group of people being victorious and defeated at two different times).[122] Thus, the Sassanids defeated the Byzantines around 615, and the Byzantines defeated the Sassanids around 622, which confirms the common recitation:

> The Roman Empire has been defeated in a land close by; but they (even) after (this) defeat will soon be victorious – within a few years. With God is the decision in the past and the future. On that day shall the believers rejoice with the help of God. He helps whom He will, and He is Exalted in Might, Most Merciful. (30:2-5)

The other anomalous reading is supported in that the Byzantines, after their victory in Syria, were defeated by the Arabs in Jordan in 8 AH/629 AC in the Battle of Ghazwat Mu'tah, which was followed, six years later, by the Battle of Yarmūk.[123]

Finally, the Muslims consider this prophecy as a miracle in their successive recitation, irrespective of Goldziher's interpretation. In fact, al-Zamakhsharī asserts that this verse is one of the greatest miracles to bear witness to the truth of the Prophet's prophecy and to the fact that the Qur'an is revealed from God, because it relates knowledge of the unseen, which is known only to God.[124]

THE COPIES OF THE ʿUTHMĀNIC WRIT AND THE PROBLEM OF GRAMMATICAL OR ORTHOGRAPHICAL ERRORS

When all of the Qur'anic material was compiled and brought to ʿUthmān, he found mistakes in certain recitations but told the transcription committee to leave them as they were, for the Arabs would read them soundly.[125] According to another version, he added that if the scribe was a Thaqīfī and the reciter a Hudhaylī, there would be no errors.[126]

Al-Dānī states that this report is groundless and unacceptable, for its chain is weak (being *mursal*) and its context is weak (*muḍṭarib*). Also, why would ʿUthmān, who, with the Companions' agreement, compiled this material to end intra-Muslim disputes, leave any errors to be corrected in the future?[127] Al-Dānī further argues that if the report is authentic, *laḥn* (error) means the recitation rather than the orthography, because many words, if recited according to their orthography, would have a different meaning (e.g., لأذبحنه [*li adhbaḥannah*], لأوضعوا [*li awḍaʿū*], سأوريكم من نباي الرسلين [*saʾurīkum min nabīʾ al-mursalīn*], and الربو [*al-rabū*]). Thus ʿUthmān may have meant this latter kind, which the Arabs would recite correctly, since the Qur'an was revealed in their language.[128]

Al-Dānī goes on to report that when ʿĀʾishah was asked about the existence of errors, she replied that the scribes had erred (*akhṭaʾū*) and cited the following passages: *In hadhāni la sāḥirāni* (20:63), *wa al-muqīmīna al-ṣalāta wa al-muʾtūna al-zakāta* (4:162), and *inna al-ladhīna āmanū wa al-ladhīna hādū wa al-ṣābiʿūna* (5:69).[129] He argues that ʿĀʾishah thought that they were not the most fluent and regarded her own selection as the best, on the grounds that she could not have meant *akhṭaʾū* literally, since the scribes had written in this way with the Companions' consensus. In support, he quotes some scholars as having interpreted her statement as meaning that the scribes made mistakes in choosing the best style of recitation. According to them, *laḥn* means recitation (*lughah*), as in ʿUmar's statement: "*Ubayy aqraunā wa innā la nadaʿu baʿḍa laḥnihī*" (i.e., *qirāʾatihi* – his recitation).[130] The author of *Kitāb al-Mabānī*[131] writes that some scholars thought that ʿĀʾishah objected

because these recitations did not correspond with the Qurayshī dialect, although they are sound according to the other Arab dialects.[132]

There are other supposed orthographical errors in the copies, as follows: *wa al-mūfūna bi ʿabdihim idhā ʿāhādu wa al-ṣābirīna* (2:177), *fa aṣṣaddaqa wa akun min al-ṣāliḥin* (63:10), and *wa asarrū al-najwā al-ladhīna ẓalamu* (21:3).[133] However, al-Ṭabarī says that these examples are authentic according to various Arab dialects.[134] He states further that if they were written incorrectly in the copies of the ʿUthmānic writ, all of the earlier material would have disagreed with them, whereas Ubayy's recitation and personal codice agreed with the ʿUthmānic writ's copies. For example, both contain the phrase *wa al-muqīmīna al-ṣalāta wa al-mūtūna al-zakāta* (4:162).

Al-Ṭabarī concludes that this agreement indicates that the contents of our current copies are sound and correct, and that if the orthography of the ʿUthmānic writ's copies had contained mistakes the Companions would still have taught their Successors correctly. Finally, he states that the Muslims' transmission of these recitations, in accordance with the orthography of the ʿUthmānic writ's copies, is the strongest evidence of their correctness and soundness. He adds that this has nothing to do with the scribes, and that one should not attribute any misake to them.[135]

These scribes differed as to whether التابوت should be written with final *tā'* or *hā'*. ʿUthmān told them to write it with final *tā'*, according to the Qurayshī dialect in which it had been revealed.[136] Since the scribes consulted him whenever a dispute arose and he would correct them, it is unlikely that he would allow mistakes to remain and expect people to correct them in their own recitations. If he had told the scribes to do so, it is reasonable to suppose that he would have done the same thing with التابوت (*al-tābūt*). Furthermore, the author of *Kitāb al-Mabānī*[137] has studied all of these examples, substantiates their acceptability as good Arabic according to various Arab dialects, and quotes many lines of ancient Arab poetry in support of each example.[138]

As to their linguistic authenticity, the commentators' views are detailed below:

1. Qur'an 20:63: *Qālū inna hādhāni la sāḥirāni*. Abū ʿUbaydah states that in the case of ان هذان لساحران (20:63), ʿUthmān's writ omits an *alif* (being in the nominative case) and that the scribes added *yā'* when it was in the accusative or dative cases.[139] This passage is recited in several accepted manners:

a. *In hādhāni la sāḥirāni* is attributed to Ḥafṣ, the narrator of ʿĀṣim.

b. *In hādhāni lā sāḥirānni* is attributed to Ibn Kathīr.[140] Both of these are recited as *a* as *in*. In both cases, *hādhāni* is *mubtada'* and its *khabar* is *la sāhirāni* or *la sāḥirānnu*.

c. *Inna hādhāni la sāḥirāni*, which is recited by the *qurrā'*, is attributed to Nāfiʿ, Ibn ʿAmir, Shuʿbah (another narrator of Ḥafṣ), Ḥamzah, al-Kisā'i, Abū Jaʿfar, Yaʿqūb, and Khalaf.[141]

The grammarians suggested various diacritical marks and interpretations:

i. It is an example of *damīr al-shaʾn*, a grammatical device that allows avoidance of agreement in number, with the *-hu* omitted, and is to be understood as *innahu hādhāni*. This view is regarded as weak. In support of it, ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr said "*Inna wa rākibahā*" to a poet, who replied: "*Laʾana Allāhu nāqatan ḥamalatnī ilayka.*"[142]

ii. In this context, *inna* is said to mean *naʿam*.[143] In addition, *hādhāni* is subject and *la sāḥirāni* is the predicate (attributed to al-Mubarrid, Ismāʿīl ibn Isḥāq, and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Akhfash al-Ṣaghīr).

iii. Abū Ḥayyān cites the following Arab tribes as using the dual form of this word with *alif* in all cases: the Kināna, Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Kaʿb, Khathʿam, Zabīd and the people of his region, Banū al-Anbār, Banū Ḥajīm, Murād, and ʿUdhrah. Abū Ḥayyān considers this explanation to be the best.[144]

Similarly, al-Zamakhsharī states that some Arabs treat the dual form's *alif* as *alif maqṣūrah* (i.e., invariable).[145] The author of *Muqaddimat Kitāb al-Mabānī*[146] claims that the Quraysh adopted this from the Banū al-Ḥārith, and that the Quraysh say *akramtu al-rajulāni*, *rakibtu al-farasāni*, and *nazartu ilā al-ʿabdāni*. He reports that al-Farrā' narrated, on the authority of a Azdi man who did so on the authority of certain people of the Banū al-Ḥārith, that they recited the saying of al-Mutalammis as follows: *fa aṭraqa iṭraqa al-shujāʿi wa law raʾā / masāghan lināhu al-shujāʿ lasammamā*, and that the Banū al-Ḥārith say *hādhā khaṭṭu yadā akhī aʿrifuhū*. He also attributes to them the poetic verse *inna abāhā wa abā abāhā qad balaghā fī al-majdi ghayatāhā*.[147]

Finally, Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlāʾ recited *inna hādhayni la sāḥirāni*. But Abū Ḥayyān reports that al-Zajjāj objected to this recitation because it did not correspond with the ʿUthmānic writ's copies.[148]

2. Qur'an 4:162: *Wa al-muqīmīna al-ṣalāta wa al-mūtūna al-zakāta*. The word *al-muqīmīna* is written and recited with the objective case of

praise. But according to Sībawayh, it is in the accusative case, for it is in opposition to *minhum*.[149] Al-Zamakhsharī states that all claims that an orthographical error appears, here or elsewhere, should be ignored, for they are made by those who are not experts in how the Arabs use their language. He argues that the Salaf, who were known for their vast knowledge, virtue, and vigorous support of Islam, could not possibly have left any defect to be corrected by the following generation.[150]

3. Qur'an 5:69: *Inna al-ladhīna āmanū wa al-ladhīna hādū wa al-Ṣabi'ūna wa al-Naṣārā*. The word *al-Ṣābi'ūna* is written and recited in the indicative case, as it is a subject whose predicate is omitted. Thus, it may be understood as *inna l-ladhīna āmanū wa al-ladhīna hādū wa al-Naṣārā ḥukmuhum kadhā wa al-Ṣābi'ūna kadhālika*. In support of this interpretation, al-Zamakhsharī cites Sībawayh as having quoted *wa illā fa ʿiamū annā wa antum bughātun mā baqīna fī shiqāqi* meaning *fa ʿiamū annā bughātun wa antum kadhālika*.[151]

4. Qur'an 2:177: *Wa al-mūfūna bi ʿahdihim idhā ʿāhadū wa al-ṣābirīna*. The word *al-ṣābirīna* is recited with a *fatḥah*, as it is written in the copies of the ʿUthmānic writ, for it is regarded as an objective case of distinction and praise.[152] Al-Ṭabarī states that this form is found in Arabic and quotes certain lines in support.[153]

5. Qur'an 63:10: *Fa aṣṣaddaqa wa akun min al-ṣālihīn*. The word *akun* is recited with the mark for a closed syllable, as it is written in the copies of the ʿUthmānic writ, for it is dependent on *law lā akhkhartanī*, as though the sentence were *in akhkhartanī aṣṣaddaq wa akun*.[154]

6. Qur'an 21:3: *Wa asarrū al-najwā al-ladhīna ẓalamū*. Abū Ḥayyān states that all kinds of diacritical marks indicating the indicative case, the objective case, and the accusative case are suggested for *al-ladhīna ẓalamū*, as follows:

   First, the indicative case with various interpretations:

   a. It is the permutative (*badal*) of the noun of *asarrū*.

   b. It is the agent (*fāʿil*) of the verb *ẓalamū*, while *wa asarrū* indicates only the plural.

      According to this interpretation, it would be an example of *lughat akalūnī al-barāghīth*, which occurs when one adheres to the grammatical convention illustrated by this sentence. Some scholars consider this latter interpretation as anomalous (*lughah shādhdhah*),

while others view it as correct (*lughah ḥasanah*), being attributed to the Azd Shanū'ah's dialects (*lughāt*). This is supported by a similar passage in 5:71, *Thumma ʿamū wa ṣammū kathīrun minhum*, and a poetic verse attributed to an Azd Shanu'ah poet: *Yalūmūnani fi'shtirā'i al-nakhīli ahlī wakulluhumū alwamu.*

c. According to other grammarians, *al-ladhīna* is the subject and its predicate is *wa asarrū al-najwā*.

d. *Al-ladhīna* is the agent, and its verb is omitted, being understood from the passage. It may be assumed to be, for example, *yaqūlu* or *asarrahā*.

e. Other grammarians assert that *al-ladhīna* is the subject, and its predicate, *hum*, is omitted.

Second, it is suggested that the vocalization of *al-ladhīna* is in the objective case, either to indicate blame or with *aʿnī* understood. Finally, its vocalization could be in the accusative case, on the assumption that it is attributed to *li al-nāsi* in the first verse, or that it is this word's permutative. However, Abū Ḥayyān regards this as unlikely (*abʿad al-aqwāl*),[155] while al-Zamakhsharī does not mention it at all.[156]

The Qur'anic text allows variant recitations, and its language is the common literary language of the Arabs and includes various Arab dialects. Therefore, the philologists and the grammarians should not have disputed any recitations that corresponded to one of the Arab dialects. In fact, many of them objected to authentic readings only because they did not correspond with the most fluent Arabic or because they considered them strange, wrong, or uncommon.

The grammatical schools of Basrah and Kufah disagreed on certain recitation's authenticity and acceptability only because they did not correspond with their analogies or to their criteria of fluency.[157] In fact, Kufah's scholars respected and accepted the various recitations more than their counterparts in Basrah did, although the Kufans did object to certain accepted recitations. For example, al-Kisā'ī, who was both a Kufan grammarian and a *qāri'*, objected to the common recitation of 58:1, *qad samiʿa* with pronouncing the of *dāl* in *qad* clearly, preferring his own selection of blending it with the following *sīn* (i.e., *qas-samiʿa*).[158] In addition, al-Farrā' refuted Ibn ʿĀmir's recitation in 6:137.[159]

The Basran scholars objected to certain linguistic features even if they originated with the seven canonical recitations listed by of Ibn Mujāhid. For

example, Abū al-Tayyib al-Lughawī denied the scholarship of the Kufan *qurrā'* and grammarians,[160] as did his student al-Mubarrid, who vehemently rejected any recitation that did not correspond with his Basran analogy.[161] For example, he objected to Ḥamzah's recitation of 4:1, *wa attaqū Allāha al-ladhī tasā'alūna bi hī wa al-arḥāmi* with a *kasrah* in *al-arḥāmi*,[162] while the majority recited it with a *fatḥah*.[163] Al-Qurṭubī reports al-Mubarrid as having said that if he had heard any imam following Ḥamzah's recitation, he would have left him.[164]

However, the *qurrā'* accept both recitations, and Ḥamzah's use of a *kasrah* is accepted as fluent Arabic.[165] In fact, the philologists and grammarians agree, in theory, that the *qurrā'* follow the *sunnah* in their selection and that their recitations correspond with the 'Uthmānic copies' orthography and agree with the Arabic language. In this respect, Ibn Jinnī supports certain recitations, although he sometimes cannot find any supporting linguistic evidence, on the grounds that the *qāri'* must have heard it and that he had to have relied on the narration.[166]

However, the philologists and grammarians did not apply their theory consistently. For example, Ibn Jinnī, following his Basran school, objects to certain authentic recitations.[167] In fact, we find this phenomenon even among some *qurrā'*: Abū 'Ubayd and al-Zajjāj objected to the recitation, in 14:22, of *wa mā antum bi muṣrikhiyyi* with a *kasrah* as opposed to *bi muṣrikhiyya*[168]; Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Ala' objected to Ḥamzah's recitation, in 18:44, of *hunālika al-wilāyatu* and *mālakum min wilāyatihim* (8:72), as opposed to the commoner *al-walāyatu* and *walāyatihim*, and regarding the former as a mistake[169]; and Hārūn al-A'war objected to Ibn 'Āmir's recitation, in 19:42, of *yā abata*, which, according to him, should be *yā abati*.[170]

Let's look at some further objections to accepted recitations and then examine them and substantiate their authenticity and acceptability in Arabic with references to their origins in the various Arabic dialects.

In 14:22, the common recitation is *wa mā antum bimuṣrikhiyya*, with a *fatḥah* on the final yā'; Ḥamzah, however, recites *bi muṣrikhiyyi*. Al-Zamakhsharī considers the second one to be weak.[171] Abū Ḥayyān reports that some philologists and grammarians rejected it, but states that the second recitation is authentic and sound Arabic, although rare, being attributed to the dialect of the Banū Yarbu'. He quotes Quṭrub and other authorities in support.[172]

In 4:1, the common recitation is *wa attaqū Allāha al-ladhī tasā'alūna bi hi wa al-arḥāma*, while Ḥamzah, al-Nakha'ī, Qatādah, and al-A'mash recite it as *arḥāmi*.[173] Certain grammarians say that this latter reading is not sound

Arabic, and leading Basran grammarians do not accept it.[174] Abū Ḥayyān, however, claims that it is authentic and an example of fluent Arabic, as supported by various examples in Arabic prose and poetry. He states that the Kufan school, which accepts and supports this form, is correct and that the Basran school is wrong in objecting to it.[175]

In addition, he studied the latter recitation's transmission and asserts that it is successive, was received from the Prophet by way of successiveness, and that Ḥamzah only read a style of recitation according to tradition. He concludes that the Arabic language does not have to follow either the Basran or another school, for many parts of it were transmitted only by the Kufans and many other parts were transmitted only by the Basrans.[176] Ibn al-Jazarī states that Ḥamzah was the chief *qāri'* of Kufah, after ʿĀṣim and al-Aʿmash, and that he was reliable; knowledgeable in the Qur'an, Arabic, and other fields of Islamic studies; and devout.[177] He also states that Ḥamzah only read a style of recitation according to tradition.[178]

Ibn ʿĀmir, one of the seven canonical *qurrā'*, recited 6:137 as *wa kadhālika zuyyina likathīrin min al-mushrikīna qatlu awlādahum shurakā'ihim*, while the common recitation in the Ḥijāz and Iraq is *wa kadhālika zayyana likathīrin min al-mushrikīn qatla awlādihim shurakā'uhum*[179]: "Even so, in the eyes of most pagans, their 'partners' made alluring the slaughter of their children." Al-Zamakhsharī objects to the first recitation, in which Ibn ʿAmir recites *qatlu* with raf', *awlādahum* with a *fatḥah*, and *shurakā'ihim* with a *kasrah*, arguing that it is not fluent and should not be used in the Qur'anic language. He maintains that Ibn ʿĀmir recited in this way because he saw *shurakā'ihim* in certain copies with yā', as in شركائهم.[180] Ibn al-Munayyir refutes this allegation and supports Ibn ʿĀmir's recitation on the grounds that it has been transmitted in a successive manner. He rejects al-Zamakhsharī's idea that the *qurrā'* of the seven canonical recitations recited optionally or simply followed the copies' orthography without relying on tradition.[181]

Abū Ḥayyān, who discusses and supports Ibn ʿĀmir's recitation, says that certain grammarians accept this form in Arabic, although a majority of the Basran grammatical school reject it (except in the case of poetic licence). He asserts that Ibn ʿĀmir's recitation is correct, given that it has been transmitted in a successive manner, is attributed to Ibn ʿĀmir (a fluent Arab who received it from ʿUthmān before the appearance of *laḥn* in the tongue of the Arabs), and that many verses of poetry support this form.[182]

Ibn al-Jazarī refers to Ibn ʿĀmir as a great imam, a respected Follower, and a prominent scholar who led prayers in the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus during ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's reign. He was also the chief

judge (*qāḍī*) and *qāri'*, and the Salaf unanimously accept his recitation.[183] Moreover, Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalāni points out that the vocalization of the hadith *fa hal antum tārikū li aṣḥābī* agrees with that of Ibn 'Amir, since in the latter passage the first and second nouns of the possessive construction (*iḍāfah*) are separated by a prepositional phrase, while in the former they are separated by the direct object.[184]

Perhaps Arabic grammar should have been based on all Arabic literature in its various dialects, and the Qur'anic recitations should have been accepted and used to construct Arabic grammar. However, the grammarians chose the opposite route when they rejected certain recitations because they differed from their analogy or the common rule. Al-Rāzī rejects this approach, stating that the grammarians were often unsure how to support the fluency and acceptability of some Qur'anic words and that they were happy to find an unknown poetic line. He comments that this practice surprises him and that, whereas they regard such a line as an indication of the Qur'anic words' correctness, the right method would have been to authenticate its words on the grounds that they are found in the Qur'an.[185]

In fact, the grammarians could not deal with all the constructions found in the Qur'an and its recitations. 'Udaymah finds examples of their objections to certain kinds of vocalizations that are found in the Qur'an.[186] He adds that they objected to any recitation that did not correspond with their analogy, if they could not substantiate it according to their knowledge and if it did not agree with the common usage, or because they misunderstood certain recitations (although they are successive and agree with their analogy).[187]

In conclusion, we may say that the selection of a particular recitation was not left to individual choice, but depended upon meeting the three conditions for acceptability discussed above. It did not depend upon the copies of the 'Uthmānic writ's orthography, nor was it related to the fact that the letters were undotted and unvocalized. Moreover, although the accepted readings may differ in meaning, they do not contradict one another. Since the Qur'an was revealed in seven styles of recitation, all of them are good Arabic and none should be rejected on grammatical grounds. In practice, some grammarians, particularly those of the Basran school, may have rejected some of these recitations on the grounds of their school's analogy. Nevertheless, they are valid on the basis of other dialects, and other grammarians have accepted them.

Conclusion

This conclusion briefly reviews the main issues discussed above. First, the Qur'an was revealed in seven styles of recitation. The differences among the Companions' recitations apparently arose after the hijrah to Madinah, when large numbers of non-Quraysh̄ Arabs embraced Islam. To help them recite it properly, such differences was accepted. The relevant hadiths are considered sound and successive. The term "seven styles of recitation" means seven linguistical variations that reflect the various Arab dialects used in reciting the Qur'an.

To help the Companions remember the Revelation, the Prophet told the scribes to write down what was revealed to him on any materials that were available. Many Companions memorized all or part of the Qur'an; some even had their own codices. The Qur'an was thus preserved both in their hearts and in book form.

Abū Bakr gathered all of the material upon which portions of the Qur'an had been written, as it had been transmitted from the Prophet, and compiled them into a *muṣḥaf* (book). The word *muṣḥaf*, an ancient Arab word found in pre-Islamic poetry, now denotes the entire Qur'anic text and was used to denote it while the Prophet was still alive. After this, ʿUthman had Abū Bakr's compilation copied and distributed to the major cities and sent distinguished *qurrā'* to them so that their people would recite the Qur'an correctly and stop arguing over disputed recitations. ʿUthman then ordered all personal codices to be burned. Many sound reports prove that the surahs and the verses in the copies of the ʿUthmānic writ were arranged according to the Revelation, because they were found in the original and supported by their transmission from the Prophet.

The problem of abrogation is studied along with the two episodes of the *gharānīq* and the scribe who is said to have altered the verse endings. As a result, the Qur'an's completeness and trustworthiness has been shown, for nothing is missing and no parts were read and abrogated by *naskh al-tilāwah*, either with or without *ḥukm*.

As for the relation between the ʿUthmānic copies and the seven styles of recitation, the two most acceptable opinions are as follows: the ʿUthmānic copies accommodate either all or some of these styles, which correspond to the ʿUthmānic copies' orthography, including what is transmitted through continuous chains (as opposed to isolated recitations attributed to certain personal codices and transmitted to us with unauthentic chains). These copies were recorded in one recitation style, and permission was given to recite the Qur'anic text in seven styles of recitation. All interpolations attributed to the personal codices are shown to be no more than their owners' explanations and interpretations. In addition, they all are generally isolated, dubious, or rejected reports. The accounts alleging that Ubayy added the *duʿāʾ al-qunūt* as one or two surahs to his copy and that Ibn Masʿud did not include *al-Fātiḥah* and *al-Muʿawwidhatayn* in his are not authentic.

The copies of the ʿUthmānic writ remained unchanged, without vocalization or dottings, for they were recited correctly according to the transmission and teaching of the *qurrāʾ*. Vocalization was introduced by Abū al-Aswad al-Duʿalī after mistakes began to appear, due to the overwhelming numbers of non-Arabs in Iraq, and the dotting was done by his students at the request of al-Ḥajjāj during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān. The vocalization signs and dottings were further developed by adopting al-Khalīl ibn Ahmad's symbols (*ḥarakāt*), which have remained unchanged since then. Al-Ḥajjāj can be credited with no more than adding diacritical points to the ʿUthmānic copies. Thus he introduced no alteration or recension, and the printed copies that we have today represent the received text of the Qur'an without any alteration.

The language in which the Qur'an was revealed has been studied in both ancient as well as in modern linguistic sources to ascertain the scholars' views. The Qur'anic text is found to reflect the influence of various Arab dialects. The assertion that the seven styles of recitation can be interpreted as seven dialects was also examined. Some scholars held that these recitations belong entirely to the Quraysh or to the most fluent Arab dialects, although they differed over the exact criteria for fluency. I attempted to distinguish between *lughah* and *lahjah* in ancient sources and modern studies. In conclusion, I maintain that the Qur'anic language represents the Arabs' common spoken literary language, which is based on all of their dialects but contains a predominance of Qurayshī features.

The recitations' origin was investigated and determined to date back to the Prophet's teaching, for every Companion who recited in a different

manner would say that the Prophet had taught him this way. The following generation taught the Qur'an accordingly. Accepted recitations were found to correspond with certain conditions, while those that did not agree with one or more of them were regarded as anomalous or rejected. The development of these conditions was studied. The theory of reciting the Qur'an in accordance with its meaning was shown to be groundless; rather, the *qurrā'* would teach their students according to the conditions governing the recitation and as they had learned it from the Companions, who had learned it directly from the Prophet.

The first recitation compilers collected as many recitations as they could find. Ibn Mujāhid was the first scholar to introduce the seven recitations of the seven *qurrā'* and to regard the other readings as anomalous. Although he chose this specific number, which corresponded exactly to the number of accepted recitation styles, he never intended to confuse the two groups. His seven recitations were adopted by the people of the cities to which the 'Uthmānic copies were sent and dominated the circles of the *qurrā'*. However, three other recitations were supported and strongly argued to enjoy the same status.

Selection was considered next. The *qurrā'* did not have a free hand in selecting which recitation style to use, for any acceptable reading had to agree with the transmission, the orthography of the 'Uthmānic writ's copies, and the Arabic language. Proving that these copies contain no grammatical or orthographical errors is, therefore, of the highest priority. The *qurrā'* always explained why they chose a particular recitation but did not reject other accepted recitations.

Although the philologists and grammarians agreed, at least in theory, that any recitation meeting the conditions for acceptance should not be objected to, in practice they disagreed on the degree of fluency required – even in the case of authentic and highly esteemed readings. This book has studied some examples of this and has concluded that they are acceptable on the grounds of their sound transmission, fluency, and correspondence with various Arab dialects.

Finally, although the accepted recitations may differ in meaning, they do not contradict each other. The copies of the 'Uthmānic writ's orthography preserve the authentic recitations, which are subject to the narration, and the orthography itself does not initiate or create any recitations.

Endnotes

CHAPTER 1

1. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, pp.481-82; Muslim, vol.1, p.561; Muslim added, "Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī said: 'It has been narrated to me that these seven *aḥruf* are in one meaning and do not differ concerning *ḥalāl* or *ḥarām*.'" Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol.1, p.29, and al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, vol.1, p.501.
2. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, pp.482-83; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol.1, pp.24-25. See also the argument between Ubayy Ibn Ka'b and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, and between ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and another, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.26.
3. *Muslim*, vol.2, p.391.
4. ṢAAS (*Ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa Sallam*): May the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him. Said whenever the Prophet's name is mentioned.
5. Related by Tirmidhī, who says it is a good and sound hadith. See *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmidhī*, vol.14, p.63; al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, vol.4, p.508; and al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol.1, p.35.
6. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol.1, p.46.
7. *Muslim*, vol.2, p.391.
8. Ibid., p.390.
9. Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, vol.1, p.136; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.22; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr*, vol.1, p.22.
10. *Muslim*, vol.2, p.391; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol.1, p.40.
11. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.28; al-Qasṭallānī, *Laṭā'if al-Ishārāt*, vol.1, p.35; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol.1, p.36; al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam mā Istaʿjam*, vol.1, p.164.
12. Related by Tirmidhī, who says: "It is a good and sound hadith." See *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmidhī*, vol.4, p.61; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, vol.5, p.132; Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, vol.4, p.508; Ṭabarī, vol.1, p.35.
13. See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol.1, pp.35-36. Mujāhid says it is Qubā' itself. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Nihāyah*, vol.1, p.203. Al-Bakrī in his book *Muʿjam ma Istaʿjam*, vol.1, p.117, was confused when he mentioned it as in Makkah. In fact, he thought Sujiyy al-Sabāb was the same place as Aḥjār al-Mirā'.
14. Al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, vol.1, p.27.
15. Related by Aḥmad, *Musnad*, vol.4, pp.169-70; Ṭabarī, vol.1, p.44; *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.21; Ibn Kathīr, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, p.65.

16. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.21; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.78. In fact, this large number of Companions who narrated these hadiths must have been the reason for Abū ʿUbayd's considering them as successive hadith (*mutawātir*), since this number of people found in the generation of the Companions do not exist among the Successors. Nevertheless, it is a famous and good hadith. See al-Zurqani, *Manāhil al-ʿIrfān*, vol.1, p.132.
17. *Madhāhib al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī*, p.54, quoting al-Balawī, *Alif Bāʾ*, vol.1, p.21.
18. See p. 8.
19. *Itqān*, vol.1, p.131. Suyūṭī studied the work of Ibn al-Jazarī and added two to the nineteen, which the latter had already collected. See *Nashr*, vol.1, p.21.
20. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.21. Ibn al-Jazarī says this hadith is related by al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Yaʿlā in his book *Al-Musnad al-Kabīr*; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.131.
21. Bukhārī, vol.6, p.482; *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.26.
22. Muslim (Arabic text), vol.2, p.480; for the translation of the hadith, see *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, vol.2, p.417.
23. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.23; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.131; al-Zarkashī also attributed it to certain scholars. See *Burhān*, vol.1, p.212. Ibn al-Jazarī says in *Nashr*, vol.1, pp.25–26: "It is said the number seven does not mean the exact meaning. But it means here the numerousness and simplicity." See also the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., vol.2, p.1073. al-Rāfiʿī in his book *Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān*, p.70; Aḥmad ʿĀdil Kamāl in his book *ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān*, pp.85–86; and ʿAbd al-Ṣabūr in *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān* have chosen this opinion.
24. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, p.482.
25. Related by Nasāʾī. See *Itqān*, vol.1, pp.131–32.
26. *Muslim*, vol.2, p.391.
27. *Qāmūs*, vol.3, p.130; *Al-Nihāyah fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*, vol.1, p.369; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol.9, p.41; *Lane*, book I, part II, p.550.
28. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol.9, p.42.
29. *Qāmūs*, vol.3, p.131; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol.9, pp.41–42; *Lane*, book I, part II, p.550.
30. *Qāmūs*, vol.3, p.131; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol.9, p.41; *Lane*, book I, part II, p.550.
31. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol.9, p.41; *Lane*, book I, part II, p.550.
32. *Qāmūs*, vol.3, p.131; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol.9, p.41; *Lane*, book I, part II, p.550.
33. *Nihāyah*, vol.1, p.369 (see Chapter 5).
34. *Manāhil*, vol.1, p.146.
35. *Burhān*, vol.1, p.212.
36. *Itqān*, vol.1, pp.173–76, *Burhān*, vol.1, p.212; Ibn Ḥibbān says: "These sayings resemble one another and are possible, and other interpretations are possible." See *Itqān*, vol.1, p.176.
37. *Itqān*, vol.1, pp.131–41.
38. *Burhān* vol.1, p.213; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.131.
39. *Manāhil*, vol.1, p.165.
40. *Burhān*, vol.1, p.213.

41. Ibid., vol.1, p.213; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.132.
42. *Burhān*, vol.1, p.213.
43. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.34.
44. Ibid., pp.33-34.
45. Ibid., p.34; more detail on this matter is available in Chapter 6.
46. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.36.
47. *Itqān*, vol.1, p.138.
48. Ibid., vol.1, pp.136-38.
49. Ibid., p.136.
50. *Burhān*, vol.1, p.216.
51. *Itqān*, vol.1, p.137. This is also the view of Abū Shāmah, Abū ʿAlī al-Ahwāzī, and Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Hamadānī. See ibid., 171-72.
52. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.25.
53. *Itqān*, vol.1, p.137.
54. Ibid.
55. *Itqān*, vol.1, pp.134-35. al-Suyūṭī, quoting from Ibn ʿAbd al-Bārr, attributes this to most of the scholars and specifically mentions the names of Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah, al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Wahb, and al-Ṭaḥāwī.
56. Related by Aḥmad and Ṭabarānī with a sound chain. Other versions give the same meaning. See *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, p.42; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.134.
57. *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, p.42; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.134, quoting Ibn ʿAbd al-Bārr.
58. *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, p.43, quoting al-Bāqillānī.
59. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.22.
60. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, p.483.
61. *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, p.43; *Itqān*, vol.1, pp.134-35.
62. 49:6. The latter being the reading of Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī, while the former is read by the rest of the *qurrāʾ*. See al-Qaysī, *Kitāb al-Tabṣirah*, 480, 681; *Nashr*, vol.2, pp.351, 376, adding Khalaf to Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī.
63. *Manāhil*, vol.1, pp.68-69.
64. *Burhān*, vol.1, p.217-18; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.169. This view is related by Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām, Thaʿlab, Sijistānī, al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr, al-Azharī, al-Bāqillānī, and Ibn ʿAṭiyyah. See also Ibn Abū Zakariyya, Al-Ṣāḥibī, 41-42.
65. *Itqān*, vol.1, pp.135-36; *Nashr*, vol.1, p.24; *Burhān*, vol.1, pp.218-19; Qurṭubī, vol.1, pp.44-45.
66. *Itqān*, vol.1, p.135, where Abū ʿAlī al-Ahwāzī is also quoted.
67. *Laṭāʾif*, vol.1, p.33.
68. *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, p.44. There is another version attributed to ʿUmar in which he wrote to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd: "The Qur'an has been revealed in the language of the Quraysh, so do not recite to the people in the dialect of the Hudhayl." See also al-Qasṭallānī, *Laṭāʾif*, vol.1, p.33. In some versions of these sayings, the name "Muḍar" appears instead of "Quraysh," but Ibn ʿAbd al-Bārr says: "The authentic version is the first in which Quraysh was mentioned, because it is sound and came through the people of Madinah (*Burhān*, vol.1,

pp.219-20). Also, some features of Muḍarī speech are anomalous and not allowed in reciting the Qur'an. As examples, the *kashkashah* of the Qays changes the feminine singular second person – *ki* – into *shi* in "*Rabbuki Taḥtaki*" to read "*Rabbushi Taḥtashi*" (19:24) and the *tamtamah* of the Tamīm (e.g., changing *sīn* to *tā'*) so that *al-nās* reads *al-nāt* (*Qurṭubī*, vol.1, p.45; *Burhān*, vol.1, pp.219-20).

69. *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, p.44, quoting Ibn 'Abd al-Bārr and al-Qādī ibn al-Ṭayyib, who state: "Allah Almighty says: 'We have made it a Qur'an in Arabic' (43:3, A. Y. Ali's Translation, p.1342) and the Almighty did not say '*Qur'ānān Qurashiyyan.*'" No one claims that only the Quraysh is meant here, because the name "Arab" covers all tribes.
70. *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, p.45.
71. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.22; *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.22. In this respect, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1st ed.), vol.2, p.1067, says: "The language in which Muḥammad delivered his revelation was according to the most natural assumption, the Ḥidjāz dialect of the people of Mecca."
72. *Itqān*, vol.1, p.136.
73. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.24; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.136. Al-'Izz ibn 'Abd al-Salām objected to the interpretation of the seven styles of recitation as seven dialects (*Khams Rasā'il Nādirah*, 64). See Hammudah, *Al-Qirā'āt wa al-Lahajāt*, p.25.
74. *I'jāz al-Qur'ān*, pp.70-71. For more details, see Chapter 5.
75. Qur'an, 11:78.
76. Qur'an, 34:19.
77. Qur'an, 2:259.
78. Qur'an, 36:29.
79. Qur'an, 56:29 and 50:10. Ibn al-Jazarī approved of Ibn Qutaybah's analysis, but criticized it with respect to this example, since it has no relevance to the difference in recitation. Ibn al-Jazarī says: "If he had used as an example in place of this *bi ḍanīn / bi ẓanīn* (81:24), the example would be valid." See *Nashr*, vol.1, p.28.
80. Qur'an, 50:19.
81. Qur'an, 36:35.
82. *Itqān*, vol.1, p.133; al-Rāfi'ī, in his book *I'jāz al-Qur'ān*, 70, adopts this view. The work of the author of *Kitāb al-Mabānī fī Naẓm al-Ma'ānī* adopts the same view. See *Muqaddimatan fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, ed. A. Jeffery, 221-28.
83. *Ibānah*, 36.
84. *Ta'wīl Mushkil al-Qur'ān*, 28-30.
85. *Nashr*, vol.1, pp.26-27.
86. Ibid., p.25; *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.29. Ibn Ḥajar says: "Al-Rāzī quoted Ibn Qutaybah and refined it."
87. *Ibānah*, pp.37-42.
88. *Muqaddimatan*, pp.221-28.
89. *Nukat al-Intiṣār*, pp.120-22; *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, pp.109-13.

90. Al-Khū'ī, *Al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, pp.177-90.
91. Ibid., 177. He quoted from *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, vol.4, pp.438-39, Abū Ja'far's statement: "The Qur'an has been revealed from One, but the difference comes from the narrators." It is also stated (439) that Abū 'Abd Allāh was asked about sayings that the Qur'an was revealed in seven styles of recitation and that he replied: "They lied and were enemies of Allah, and it was revealed in one style of recitation from the One."
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid., p.178.
94. Ibid.
95. *Bayān*, p.158.
96. This is confirmed by a sound hadith related by Abū Dāwūd and al-Ḥākim. See al-Albānī, *Ṣifat Ṣalāt al-Nabiyy*, pp.70-71.
97. Ibn Taymiyyah, *Fatāwā*, vol.13, p.402; *Tartīb al-Musnad*, vol.18, p.9.
98. *Bayān*, pp.191-93.
99. Ibid., p.188.
100. See pp.2-3 of this study.
101. For more information about the authenticity of these hadiths, see pp.3-4 of this study.
102. For the text of this hadiths and some others, see al-Zinjani, *Tārikh al-Qur'ān*, pp.33-37, and pp.1-3 of this study.
103. Al-Zinjani, *Tārikh al-Qur'ān*, p.37.
104. Ibid., also see pp.8-9 of this study.
105. This Qur'anic commentary is called *Mafātiḥ al-Asrār wa Masābīḥ al-Abrār*, which al-Zinjani says is respected. Its author is Abū al-Fath Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Aḥmad al-Shahrastānī, a theologian and jurist who was born in 477 AH and died in 548 AH. A manuscript of this work exists in the Majlis Library, Tehran. See *Tārikh al-Qur'ān*, p.36.
106. See pp.1-5 of this book.
107. Ibid., pp.1-3.
108. See Ibn Abū Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, ed. A. Jeffery, passim.
109. Each book has a chapter or more on the recitations under *Tafsīr and Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*.
110. Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*.
111. See also A. Jeffery, *Material for the History of the Text of the Qur'an*, including *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, passim.
112. *Al-Qirā'āt wa al-Lahajāt*, p.5.

CHAPTER 2

1. These are said to have included palm stalks (*'usub*), thin white stones (*likhāf*), pieces of wood (*alwāh*), and shoulder bones (*aktāf*). See *Bukhārī*, vol.6, pp.478 and 481. For more detail, see p.18 below.

2. Al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, vol.4, p.522.
3. *Al-Bukhārī*, vol.6, p.480.
4. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.22; *Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa al-Kuttāb*, pp.12-14; *Al-Bidāyah wa Al-Nihāyah*, vol.5, pp.339-55; *Al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, vol.4, pp.245-47.
5. *Al-Musnad*, vol.6, p.250; *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, p.3; al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa al-Kuttāb*, pp.12-14; *Al-Bidāyah wa Al-Nihāyah*, vol.5, pp.339-55; *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.22; *Al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, vol.4, pp.245-54.
6. *Al-Bidāyah wa Al-Nihāyah*, vol.5, pp.339-55.
7. *Ma' al-Maṣāḥif*, pp.15-18.
8. *Kuttāb al-Nabiyy*, 3rd ed. (Beirut: 1981).
9. *Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa al-Kuttāb*, p.12; *Al-Bidāyah wa Al-Nihāyah*, vol.7, p.145; *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.22.
10. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.22.
11. Al-Nasā'ī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, p.72; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taqyīd al-'Ilm*, pp.29-32.
12. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.13; *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, vol.5, pp.521-22.
13. *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, pp.50-88; *Al-Iṣābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*, vol.2, p.489; *Materials*, pp.20-238.
14. *Manāhil*, vol.1, p.245.
15. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, p.487, adds these two names to the list given in *Manāhil*.
16. See, for example, al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, vol.4, p.518.
17. Al-Nawawī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim bi Sharḥ al-Nawawī*, vol.7, p.184.
18. *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, vol.5, p.519.
19. See *The Collection of the Qur'an*, passim. For a further discussion of this question, see also p.49.
20. *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, p.50. See pp.38-39 for a further discussion of the number killed.
21. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol.2, pp.545-49; al-Waqīdī, *Maghāzī*, vol.1, pp.346-50; *Al-Kāmil*, vol.2, pp.171-72; *Bukhārī*, vol.5, pp.287-88.
22. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.13.
23. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, p.478.
24. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, pp.10-16.
25. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol.1, p.21; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.102; *Al-Maṣāḥif*, p.21; *Al-Muqnī'*, p.8.
26. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, p.479.
27. *Al-Kāmil*, vol.3, pp.111-12.
28. For further discussion, see Chapter 5.
29. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, p.479.
30. Ibid.
31. *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol.7, p.171.
32. *Al-Kāmil*, vol.3, p.112. For a discussion of the position of 'Alī in Shī'ī sources, see p. 36 of this book.
33. *Manāhil*, vol.1, pp.260-61.
34. Ibid, vol.1, pp.257-60.

35. *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, vol.5, pp.525-26. It is narrated on ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd's authority that he also witnessed the final revelation.
36. Vol.6, p.479. See also *Al-Kāmil*, vol.3, p.112.
37. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.19; *Al-Maṣāḥif*, pp.25-26.
38. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.19.
39. Ibid.; *Al-Maṣāḥif*, pp.25-26.
40. Vol.6, p.479.
41. *Al-Maṣāḥif*, 11.
42. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.19.
43. Ibid. For a modern attempt to identify the other scribes, see *Maʿ al-Maṣāḥif*, p.92; *Dirāsāt fī al-Thaqāfah al-Islāmiyyah*, p.59.
44. *Al-Musnad*, vol.5, p.325; *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.19; *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, pp.52-53; Ibn Saʿd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol.2, p.444.
45. *Al-Maṣāḥif*, p.18; *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, pp.52-53; *Al-Tamhīd wa al-Bayān fī Maqtal al-Shahīd ʿUthmān*. The author, Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abū Bakr, adds "but the followers of Ibn Masʿūd did not agree with him. Then Ibn Masʿūd asked ʿUthmān for permission to return to Madinah, as he did not wish to stay in Kufah. He was given permission and came to Madinah some months before he passed away."
46. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.19.
47. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, pp.478-81; *Miftāḥ al-Saʿādah*, vol.2, p.292; *Al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz*, vol.1, p.64.
48. *Al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz*, vol.1, p.64.
49. Ibn al-Bāqillānī, *Al-Tamhīd*, p.222.
50. *Al-Awāʾil*, vol.1, p.214. The author interprets *raqq* as *waraq*, which meant "parchment" at the time. In this connection, individuals would come with a *waraqah* to the Prophet, who would ask one of the scribes to write on it for him. See al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol.6, p.16.
51. Clearly this is an anachronism, since even papyrus was not in use during this period in Arabia. Presumably, what is intended is parchment.
52. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.16.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Al-Zafzāf, *Al-Taʿrīf bi al-Qurʾān wa al-Ḥadīth*, pp.84-85.
56. Ibid.
57. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-Qulūb*, p.543; *Laṭāʾif al-Maʿārif*, pp.160, 218.
58. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, p.479.
59. *Al-Maṣāḥif*, p.20.
60. Ibid., p.12.
61. *Al-Maṣāḥif*, p.35.
62. Ibid., p.34.
63. *Al-Muqniʿ*, p.11; *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz*, p.74.
64. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.20.

65. *Nukat al-Intiṣār*, p.359.
66. *Irshād al-Sārī*, vol.7, p.535.
67. *Manāhil al-'Irfān*, vol.1, p.403.
68. Ibid.
69. *Al-Maṣāḥif*, 34; *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz*, p.73.
70. *Tahdhīb Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol.1, p.44.
71. *Al-Bidāyah wa Al-Nihāyah*, vol.3, p.216.
72. Vol.2, pp.20-21.
73. *Al-Nashr*, vol.1, p.7.
74. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol.2, p.1471.
75. *Al-Muqnī'*, pp.98-131; Abū 'Ubaydah, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, pp.264-300.
76. *Manāhil*, vol.1, pp.403-04; *Ma' al-Maṣāḥif*, pp.90-91.
77. *Manāhil*, vol.1, pp.403-04.
78. *Al-Tamhīd wa al-Bayān*, pp.138-39.
79. Abū 'Ubaydah, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, pp.264-300; *Ma' al-Maṣāḥif*, pp.89.
80. *Ma' al-Maṣāḥif*, pp.89.
81. *Kitāb 'Aqīlat Atrāb al-Qaṣā'id*, p.12; *Ma' al-Maṣāḥif*, p.89.
82. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol.1, pp.59-61; *Bukhārī*, vol.6, p.481; *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, pp.11-26.
83. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol.4, p.246. He also mentions another version that suggests the year 26 AH.
84. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.17.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid. In this he was followed by al-Qasṭallānī, *Irshād al-Sārī*, vol.7, p.534; al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, vol.1, p.170.
88. *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz*, p.59.
89. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.17.
90. *Al-Kāmil*, vol.3, pp.111-12.
91. For example, Abū al-Fida', *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Tārīkh al-Bashar*, vol.1, pp.167; Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abū Bakr, *Al-Tamhīd wa al-Bayān*, p.50.
92. For example, *Laṭā'if al-Ishārāt*, vol.1, p.58.
93. Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples*, p.64.
94. *Al-Maṣāḥif*, pp.13-18.
95. *Ghāyat Al-Nihāyah*, vol.1, p.459.
96. *Al-Iṣābah*, vol.2, p.369; *Tahdhīb*, vol.6, p.28. Al-'Asqalānī attributes 32 AH/652 AC to Abū Nu'aym and 33 AH/653 AC to Yaḥyā ibn Bukayr. See *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, as above.
97. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol.4, p.308.
98. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol.1, p.526.
99. *Al-Riyāḍ al-Mustaṭāba*, pp.190-92.
100. *Al-Ma'ānī*, p.109.
101. *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol.3, p.104.

102. *Al-Istīʿāb*, vol.2, p.324.
103. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol.4, p.307.
104. Ibid. Al-Ṭabarī adds that others place the event in 26 AH/646 AC. Ibn al-Athīr states that it was in 25 AH/645 AC; *Al-Kāmil*, vol.3, p.83.
105. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol.4, p.281.
106. *Al-Kāmil*, vol.3, pp.111-12.
107. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol.4, pp.306-07; *Al-Kāmil*, vol.3, pp.131-33.
108. *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, pp.277-88.
109. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol.4, pp.306-07; *Al-Kāmil*, vol.3, pp.131-33.
110. *Al-Kāmil*, vol.3, pp.111-12.
111. *Al-Nashr*, vol.1, p.7.
112. See p.21 above.
113. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol.3, p.2.
114. *Itqān*, vol.1, p.166.
115. Ibid.
116. Jeffery, *Concluding Essay*, p.14; ʿAbd al-Qādir, *Naẓrah ʿĀmmah fī Tārīkh al-Fiqh al-Islāmī*, pp.90-91.
117. Jeffery, *Concluding Essay*, pp.14-15.
118. ʿAbd al-Qādir, *Naẓrah ʿĀmmah fī Tārīkh al-Fiqh al-Islāmī*, pp.90-91.
119. Bukhārī, vol.6, p.477.
120. *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol.6, pp.334-40.
121. Ibid. See also p.48 below.
122. *Al-Burhān fī ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān*, vol.1, p.238.
123. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra*, vol.3, p.2.
124. *Itqān*, vol.1, p.166.
125. Bukhārī, vol.6, pp.476-77.
126. Ibn Abū Dāwūd in his *Al-Maṣāḥif*, 6, states that Abū Bakr appointed ʿUmar and Zayd ibn Thābit to compile the Qur'an and told them to sit in front of the mosque and write down what two witnesses testified to be part of the Qur'an. This version is said to be unauthentic (*Itqān*, vol.1, p.167). In his *Concluding Essay*, p.14, Jeffery argues that this contradiction indicates that Abū Bakr did not compile any official book, but that, according to the authentic tradition of Bukhārī, the suggestion came from ʿUmar.
127. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, p.477.
128. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol.3, pp.281-301.
129. *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol.6, p.326.
130. *Jumal Futūḥ al-Islām*, p.341.
131. *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol.6, p.226.
132. Ibid.
133. Ibid., p.332.
134. *Concluding Essay*, p.14.
135. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol.3, p.296.
136. *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, p.50.

137. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol.3, p.296.
138. *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol.6, p.340.
139. *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, p.50.
140. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, p.477.
141. Burton, *The Collection of the Qur'an*, p.239.
142. Al-Zuhrī, *Kitāb Tanzīl al-Qur'ān*, p.23.
143. *Itqān*, vol.1, pp.38-47; *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, p.61; Ibn Taymiyyah, *Daqā'iq al-Tafsīr*, vol.1, p.13.
144. More discussion will be forthcoming on pp.28-31 of this chapter.
145. *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, p.59; *Al-Burhān*, vol.1, p.256; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.176; *Asrār Tartīb al-Qur'ān*, p.68.
146. *Itqān*, vol.1, pp.179-80.
147. *Al-Burhān*, vol.1, p.237; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.176.
148. *Al-Musnad*, vol.1, pp.398-99.
149. *Tartīb Musnad Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, vol.18, p.29; *Sunan Abū Dāwūd*, vol.2, pp.114-16.
150. *Al-Ḥākim*, vol.2, p.229; *Al-Murshid*, pp.44, 61; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.172; c.f. *Tartīb Musnad*, vol.18, p.30.
151. *Sunan Abū Dāwūd*, vol.1, p.291; *Al-Ḥākim*, vol.1, p.231; *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, vol.4, p.522; *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz*, p.35.
152. *Gharā'ib al-Qur'ān wa Raghā'ib al-Furqān*, vol.1, p.32.
153. *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, vol.4, p.502.
154. *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz*, p.45; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.175.
155. Ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Iḥkām fī Uṣūl al-Aḥkām*, vol.4, p.93.
156. Al-*Burhān*, vol.1, p.260; *Asrār Tartīb al-Qur'ān*, p.71.
157. *Muqaddimatan*, p.32; *Manāhil*, vol.1, pp.248-49.
158. *Al-Fihrist*, pp.29-30.
159. *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, p.60.
160. *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol.18, p.155.
161. *Musnad*, vol.1, pp.329-30.
162. *Al-Manār*, vol.9, p.585; *Musnad*, vol.1, p.330.
163. *Ḥāshiyah* on *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, p.12; *Musnad*, vol.1, p.330.
164. *Al-Manār*, vol.9, p.585. Individual surahs are referred to repeatedly by name in the hadith. Thus, a cursory inspection of a single chapter of a single source (*Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol.2, pp.120-39) reveals no less than 26 such references.
165. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, pp.485-86.
166. *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, p.12.
167. Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kifāyah fī 'Ilm al-Riwāyah*, p.432.
168. Ibn Kathīr, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, p.25.
169. Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmi' li Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, vol.1, p.53.
170. *Al-Jāmi' li Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, vol.1, p.60.
171. *Al-Burhān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, vol.1, p.238.

172. Published with a different title: *Asrār Tartīb al-Qur'ān*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad 'Aṭā', 2nd ed. (Cairo 1398 AH/1978 AC). He also composed a short treatise on this subject entitled *Marāṣid al-Maṭāli' fī Tanāsub al-Maqāti' wa al-Maṭāli'*, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS.S112, pp.114-17.
173. See, for instance, Ḥijāzī, *Al-Waḥdah al-Mawḍū'iyyah fī al-Qur'ān al-Karīm*; al-Qāsim, *Al-I'jāz al-Bayānī fī Tartīb Āyāt al-Qur'ān al-Karīm wa Suwarih*.
174. *Itqān*, vol.1, p.172; Muir, *The Coran*, p.37, says there were indeed recognized surahs (chapters).
175. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, p.46.
176. *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, p.60.
177. *Al-Mabānī*, p.41; *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, pp.60-61.
178. One who dies without leaving a son or a father. See *Qurṭubī*, vol.5, pp.28-29, pp.76-78.
179. *Musnad*, vol.1, p.231; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.173.
180. *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* (English Trans.), vol.2, p.458.
181. *Tartīb al-Musnad*, vol.18, p.9.
182. Ibid., vol.18, p.8.
183. Ibid., vol.18, p.9.
184. *Itqān*, vol.1, p.174.
185. *Itqān*, vol.1, pp.172-76.
186. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, p.48. The translation was taken from Yūsuf 'Alī with modification.
187. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.16; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.101.
188. *Al-Maṣāḥif*, p.9; *Muqaddimatan*, p.35.
189. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.11; *Bukhārī*, vol.6, pp.479-80; *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*, vol.2, p.470, English translation by James Robson.
190. *Fatḥ al-Barī*, vol.9, p.21.
191. *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, p.15.
192. C.f. *Musnad*, vol.3, pp.163-64.
193. *Al-Maṣāḥif*, 30. In another version, Ibn Abū Dāwūd related this event to 'Uthmān (see p.31), who suggested sealing the last revealed surah with these two verses.
194. Al-Bannā, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol.18, p.173. Aḥmad Shākir refutes this version on the grounds that it is *munkar shādhdh* in contradiction to the *mutawātir*. See *Musnad*, vol.3, pp.163-64.
195. *Al-Maṣāḥif*, vol.9, pp.128-29; *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz*, p.56; *Tartīb al-Musnad*, vol.18, p.173. The author of *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol.18, pp.54-55 and pp.173-74, accepts this version as a sound hadith accepted by al-Ḥākim.
196. *Tartīb al-Musnad*, vol.18, p.54.
197. Ibid., p.174. The report is regarded as sound. See *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, pp.174-75.
198. *Tartīb al-Musnad*, vol.18, pp.156-58.
199. *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, p.63.

200. Ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Iḥkām fī Uṣūl al-Aḥkām*, vol.6, p.832.
201. Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, vol.1, p.56.
202. *Nukat al-Intiṣār*, p.331.
203. 7Qur'an 5:17.
204. Al-Nasā'ī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, p.101.
205. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, part IV, vol.1, p.489.
206. *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, p.5.
207. *Ma'rifat al-Qurrā' al-Kibār*, pp.29-39; *Itqān*, vol.1, pp.201-04.
208. Some of these we know by name. As for the anonymous *qurrā'*, we have no precise information about them, although on one occasion 70 of them are said to have been killed as early as 5 AH. See *Bukhārī*, vol.5, pp.287-88.
209. *Itqān*, vol.1, p.200.
210. Ibn al-Bāqillānī, *I'jāz al-Qur'ān*, pp.33-50.
211. *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, vol.4, pp.19-31; al-Nasā'ī, vol.2, pp.120-39.
212. *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, vol.4, pp.427-99.
213. Ibid., pp.427-36.
214. *The Coran*, p.38.
215. *Al-Musnad*, vol.10, p.43; al-Nasa'ī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, pp.101-03.
216. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, p.488.
217. *Nukat al-Intiṣār*, pp.70-76; *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, pp.46-54.
218. Al-Baghawī in his *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, vol.4, p.428, says: "*Kull Shay' in Jama'tahu fa-qad qara'tahu.*"
219. M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History: A New Interpretation*, vol.1, p.23, pp.50-51.
220. See pp.15-17 of this study.
221. *Lisān al-'Arab*, vol.9, p.186.
222. Ibid.
223. *Musnad*, vol.10, pp.110-11.
224. Bukhārī, vol.4, p.146.
225. *Dīwān Imru' al-Qays*, p.88.
226. *Concluding Essay*, p.46.
227. *Itqān*, vol.1, p.166. Al-Suyūṭī states that this report's chain is interrupted (*munqaṭi'*).
228. Martin Hinds, "The Siffin Arbitration Agreement," *Journal of Semitic Studies* p.17, pp.95-96.
229. Al-Juwaynī, *Al-Burhān fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, vol.2, pp.1293-300; al-Ghazālī, *Al-Mustaṣfā*, vol.1, pp.123-24; Ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Iḥkām fī Uṣūl al-Aḥkām*, vol.1, pp.440-41; *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, vol.1, pp.432-33.
230. Except for the Mu'tazili scholars, who objected to the theory of *naskh* entirely. See *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, vol.1, p.435; al-Juwaynī, *Al-Burhān fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, vol.2, p.1312.
231. *Al-Iḥkām fī Uṣūl al-Aḥkām*, vol.2, p.263; *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, vol.1, p.435; al-Āmidī, *Al-Iḥkām*, vol.2, p.264.

232. *Itqān*, vol.3, p.74. The chain is weak, as pointed out by al-Ghamārī, *Dhawq al-Halāwah*, p.11.
233. *Itqān*, vol.3, p.72. The chain is not authentic. See *Dhawq al-Halāwah*, p.12.
234. *Al-Īḍāḥ*, 46; *Itqān*, vol.3, p.72.
235. *Itqān*, vol.3, p.75.
236. *Al-Īḍāḥ*, p.72.
237. *Dhawq al-Halāwah*, pp.18-19. Al-Ghamārī attributes it to the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq. He adds that this account is rejected, and he considers it false and contradictory to the Qurʾan.
238. *Itqān*, vol.3, p.75.
239. *Al-Rawḍ al-Unuf*, vol.6, pp.206-07.
240. *Al-Qirāʾāt wa al-Lahajāt*, p.81.
241. Al-Nawawī, *Sahīh Muslim bi Sharh al-Nawawī*, vol.10, pp.29-30.
242. Al-Qaysī, *Al-Īḍāḥ li Nāsikh al-Qurʾān wa Mansūkhih*, p.45.
243. Ibid., p.44.
244. *Itqān*, vol.3, p.63.
245. *Ahkām al-Qurʾān*, vol.2, p.125.
246. *Mushkil al-Āthār*, vol.3, p.6.
247. *Al-Nāsikh wa al-Mansūkh*, p.11.
248. *Al-Qirāʾāt wa al-Lahajāt*, p.86.
249. *Itqān*, vol.3, p.72.
250. *Fath al-Bārī*, vol.12, pp.117-20.
251. Ibid., vol.12, p.117.
252. *Mushkil al-Āthār*, vol.3, p.2.
253. *Al-Qirāʾāt wa al-Lahajāt*, pp.84-85.
254. *Fath al-Bārī*, vol.12, p.143.
255. *Dhawq al-Halāwah*, p.17. The term *munkar* signifies a hadith that is reported by a weak chain of narrators that contradicts more authentic information.
256. *Itqān*, vol.3, p.76. *Shaykh* in this context means "an old man."
257. *Dhawq al-Halāwah*, pp.17-18.
258. Ibid., p.18.
259. *Al-Hākim*, vol.2, p.224; *Itqān*, vol.3, p.73. Ubayy ibn Kaʿb is reported to have said that the Prophet read surah 98 to him and it included this addition.
260. *Al-Rawḍ al-Unuf*, vol.2, p.176.
261. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, pp.256-57.
262. *Fath al-Bārī*, vol.11, p.213.
263. Ibid.; *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh*, vol.2, p.671.
264. *Rūh al-Maʿānī*, vol.30, p.208.
265. *Al-Qirāʾāt wa al-Lahajāt*, p.80.
266. *Al-Musabbihāt* are those surahs that begin with *tasbīh* (glorifying), such as surahs 61 and 62.
267. *Itqān*, vol.3, p.74; *Burhān*, vol.2, p.37.

268. *Itqān*, vol.3, p.74. The narration is not authentic, because there is a break in the transmission. See *Dhawq al-Ḥalāwah*, p.13.
269. *Itqān*, vol.3, p.64.
270. Ibid.
271. Ibid., vol.3, p.73. The hadith is not authentic, because its chain includes two unknown narrators. *Dhawq al-Ḥalāwah*, p.14.
272. *Itqān*, vol.3, p.75. Al-Ghamārī states that what is called *Surat al-Ḥafd* was composed by ʿUmar. *Dhawq al-Ḥalāwah*, p.19.
273. *Nukat al-Intiṣār*, pp.103-04; *Itqān*, vol.3, p.75.
274. Muṣṭafā Zayd, *Al-Naskh fī al-Qurʾān al-Karīm*, vol.1, p.282-83. Supporting his view, he quotes al-Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol.2, p.480, who states that Allah could cause his Prophet to forget some (verses) revealed to him. In his *Min Qaḍāyā al-Qurʾān*, pp.235-36, ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Khaṭīb suggests that in the final revealed version, some verses were transferred to other surahs rather than being eliminated. But he does not quote any references to support his view.
275. Al-*Itqān*, vol.3, p.75; *Burhān*, vol.2, p.36; *Al-Qirāʾāt wa al-Lahajāt*, p.77; *Mabāḥith fī ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān*, p.266; *Dhawq al-Ḥalāwah*, pp.19-20.
276. Al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, vol.1, p.13.
277. Al-Khūʾī, *Al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, p.201; *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, vol.1, p.22-25 (introduction of the editor, Ṭayyib al-Mūsawī al-Jazāʾirī).
278. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, vol.1, pp.234-61.
279. Burton, *The Collection of the Qur'an*, p.238.
280. Wansbrough, *Qur'anic Studies*, p.197.
281. *Al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, vol.2, p.631-34; *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, ed. by ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Muẓaffar, vol. 11, part V, pp.178-204.
282. *Al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, vol.2, p.634.
283. Ibid.
284. Ibid., p.633.
285. *Rūḥ al-Maʿānī*, vol.1, p.24.
286. Ibid.
287. *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, vol.1, pp.28-29.
288. Ibid., 5. The editor, al-Mūsawī al-Jazaʾirī, agrees with the author and gives as an example the alleged omission of *fī ʿAlīyy* after "O Apostle! Proclaim the (message) which has been sent to you from your Lord" (5:70). Yūsuf ʿAlī's translation, p.264.
289. *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, vol. 2, part 5, pp.199-204.
290. Ibid., pp.178-81.
291. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, vol.2, p.102-03; *Mukhtaṣar al-Tuḥfah al-Ithnay ʿAshriyyah*, Introduction of Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, p.31.
292. *Tafsīr Alā' al-Raḥmān*, the author's introduction, pp.16-17.
293. Ibid.
294. *Al-Kāmil*, vol.3, p.112.

295. Al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, vol.1, p.3; *Tafsīr Alā' al-Raḥmān*, pp.17-18; al-Ṭabrasī, *Majma' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, vol.1, p.15; *Nukat al-Intiṣār*, p.365.
296. *Tafsīr Alā' al-Raḥmān*, pp.16-17; Darāz, *Madkhal*, p.40.
297. Darāz, *Madkhal*, p.40.
298. *Tafsīr Alā' al-Raḥmān*, pp.18-19.
299. See, for example, al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, vol.23, pp.49-56; 'Iyād, *al-Shifā*, vol.2, pp.282-305; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol.3, pp.229-81; al-Qāsimī, *Tafsīr*, vol.12, pp.36-57; Sayyid Qutb, *Fī Ẓilāl al-Qur'ān*, vol.4, pp.2431-36; 'Abd al-Karīm al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Tafsīr al-Qur'ānī*, vol.3, pp.1061-85; al-Albānī, *Nasb al-Majānīq li Nasf Qiṣṣat al-Gharānīq*; A. M. Ahsan, "The 'Satanic' Verses and Orientalism," *Hamdard Islamicus* 5, no.1 (Spring 1982): pp.27-36. See also Bell and Watt, *Introduction to the Qur'an*, pp.88-89, Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, pp.101-09; Lichtenstaedter, "A Note on the Gharānīq and Related Qur'anic Problems," *Israel Oriental Studies*, no. 5 (1975): pp.54-61; Burton, "Those are the high-flying cranes," *JSS*, no. 15 (1970): pp.246-65.
300. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, p.363; *Tirmidhī*, vol.3, p.58.
301. *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, vol.3, pp.330-33.
302. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol.17, pp.186-90, 3rd ed., 1388 AH/1968 AC (unedited version).
303. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol.3, pp.229-231; *Al-Shifā'*, vol.2, p.289.
304. *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, vol.23, p.51.
305. *Al-Shifā'*, vol.2, p.289-97.
306. Ibid., p.302.
307. *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, vol.23, p.51.
308. Ibid.
309. Ibid., vol.23, p.52 and p.56.
310. Ibid., vol.23, p.51; *Tafsīr al-Qāsimī*, vol.12, pp.46-47.
311. Ibid.
312. *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, vol.3, pp.330-33. However, Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq narrated this episode with the addition of *al-gharānīq*. See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol.17, p.187 (unedited version).
313. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol.3, pp.229-31.
314. *Tafsīr al-Qāsimī*, vol.12, p.56.
315. *Al-Shifā'*, vol.2, p.306; al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ comments that the report is no more than a narration attributed to a nonbeliever, whose report is most fit to be rejected.
316. Qurṭubī, vol.7, p.40.
317. Al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, vol.2, p.855.
318. Al A'ẓamī, *Kuttāb al-Nabiyy*, p.89.
319. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūn al-Āthār*, vol.2, pp.175-76, pp.315-16.
320. Ibn Abū Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, p.3.
321. *Bukhārī*, vol.8, pp.216-17.

322. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol.3, p.289.
323. *Sunan Ibn Mājah* vol.2, p.1318, hadith nos. 3982-83.

CHAPTER 3

1. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.31.
2. *Al-Faṣl fī al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, vol.2, p.77.
3. *Murshid al-Wajīz*, p.142. Al-Ja'burī adopts this view and regards it as authentic. See his *Kanz al-Ma'ānī*, f4.
4. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol.1, pp.63-64; *Mushkil al-Āthār*, vol.4, pp.190-91.
5. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol.1, pp.58-59.
6. *Mushkil al-Āthār*, vol.4, pp.190-91.
7. *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, pp.42-43.
8. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.31; *Itqān*, vol.1, pp.141-42.
9. *Nashr*, vol.1, pp.31-32.
10. Ibid.
11. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.30.
12. *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz*, pp.140-42.
13. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.30.
14. *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, vol.4, pp.525-26; *Sharḥ al-Zurqānī*, vol.2, pp.11-12; al-Muṭī'ī, *Al-Kalimāt al-Ḥisān*, pp.113-14.
15. *Al-Ibānah*, p.33; *Munjid*, p.56.
16. *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, vol.4, p.525.
17. *Al-Muḥkam fī Naqṭ al-Maṣāḥif*, p.3.
18. *Al-'Awāṣim min al-Qawāṣim*, vol.2, p.481.
19. *Fatāwā*, vol.12, pp.100-02.
20. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.32.
21. *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, vol.3, p.151; *Miftāḥ al-Sa'ādah*, vol.2, p.89; *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, vol.1, p.712. al-Dānī in his book *Al-Muḥkam*, p.35, mentions the pre-Islamic Aslam ibn Khudrah as a pioneer of vocalization and diacritics.
22. Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri* (Cairo: 1952), pp.82, 113-14; al-Munajjid, *Tārīkh al-Khaṭṭ al-'Arabī*, pp.37-39, 116, 126; al-Jabbūrī, *Aṣl al-Khaṭṭ al-'Arabī wa Taṭawwuruhu*, p.107.
23. "Early Islamic Inscriptions Near Taif in the Ḥijāz," *JNES*, no. 7 (1948): pp.236-42; al-Munajjid, *Tārīkh al-Khaṭṭ al-'Arabī*, pp.101-03.
24. *Al-Muḥkam fī Naqṭ al-Maṣāḥif*, pp.3-4, 18-19.
25. Ibid., pp.3-4; *Al-Aghānī*, vol.12, p.298; *Itqān*, vol.4, p.160; *Al-Awā'il*, vol.2, pp.129-30; al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Ahbbā'*, pp.8-11. He adds that the authentic view is that Abū al-Aswad was appointed by 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib.
26. Al-Dānī states that Yaḥyā and Naṣr were probably the first to introduce *naqṭ*, which they had learned from Abū al-Aswad, to the people (*Al-Muḥkam*, pp.5-6). Qurṭubī adds the name of al-Ḥasan to that of Yaḥyā (Qurṭubī, vol.1, p.63); Suyūṭī attributes it to all of them (Abū al-Aswad, Yaḥyā, and al-Ḥasan)

adding Naṣr, but considers the attribution to Abū al-Aswad the most accepted (*Itqān*, vol.4, p.160); *Miftāḥ al-Sa'ādah*, vol.2, p.24.

27. *Al-Muḥkam*, p.6.
28. *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, vol.3, p.156.
29. *Al-Muḥkam*, pp.18-19.
30. Ibid., pp.19-20, 22-23.
31. Ibid., pp.10-11, where he mentions such eminent scholars as Ibn Mas'ūd, Ibn 'Umar, Qatādah, Ibn Sīrīn, Mālik ibn Anas, and Aḥmad ibn Hanbal.
32. Ibn Taymiyyah, *Fatāwā*, vol.12, pp.100-01.
33. Al-Sūlī, *Adab al-Kuttāb*, p.61.
34. *Al-Muḥkam*, pp.22, 43.
35. *Itqān*, vol.4, p.162.
36. *Al-Muḥkam*, p.6.
37. Ibid., p.17; *Iqāz al-A'lām*, passim.
38. Ibid., p.11; *Itqān*, vol.4, pp.146-47; *Miftāḥ al-Sa'ādah*, vol.2, p.225; *Al-Burhān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, pp.1379-88.
39. *Al-Kashshāf*, vol.3, p.265.
40. Rustufadūnī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān wa al-Maṣāḥif*, p.12; al-Shinqīṭī, *Iqāz al-A'lām li Wujūb Ittibā' Rasm al-Muṣḥaf al-Imām*; al-Ḥaddād, *Khulāṣat al-Nuṣūṣ al-Jaliyyah*, pp.11-16; Makhlūf, *'Unwān al-Bayān*, pp.72-78.
41. *Tafsīr al-Marāghī*, vol.1, pp.13-14.
42. *Al-Muqaddimah*, p.457.
43. *Al-Burhān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, vol.1, p.379.
44. Ibid.
45. *Tafsīr al-Marāghī*, vol.1, p.15.
46. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.12.
47. *Al-Muqni'*, p.114. Examples will be forthcoming, p.91f.
48. This method was adopted recently in 'Abd al-Jalīl 'Īsā, *Al-Muṣḥaf al-Muyassar* and *Muṣḥaf al-Shurūq al-Mutiṣṣar*.
49. Mālik ibn Anas is reported to have written *maṣāḥif* for learners in the standard orthography. See al-Dānī, *Al-Muḥkam fī Naqt al-Maṣāḥif*, p.11.
50. Al-Maṣāḥif, pp.49-50, 117-18.
51. Ibid., p.117; al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol.5, pp.89-115; vol.8, pp.166-167; al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Du'afā' al-Ṣaghīr*, p.76.
52. *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, vol.2, pp.770-72; *Ṭabaqāt at Ḥuffāẓ*, pp.75-76.
53. See, for example, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 6, passim; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol.9, pp.117-39; *Tārīkh Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ*, part 1, pp.340-419.
54. *Al-Maṣāḥif*, p.117. The chain includes Yazīd al-Fārisī, who was regarded as weak (chapter 2, p.63). However, according to al-Dānī, omitting the *alif* after the *waw* of plural was consistent, except in a few cases. He gives examples. *Al-Muqni'*, pp.26-27.
55. *Muqaddimatan*, p.119.

56. *Maʿ al-Maṣāḥif*, pp.117-18.
57. "The Textual History of the Qur'an," *Journal of Middle Eastern Society* (Spring 1947):45.
58. See below.
59. Ibid.
60. See p.44 of this chapter.
61. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa Akhbāruhā*, pp.117-18.
62. See p.44 of this study.
63. *Al-Muḥkam*, pp.16-17.
64. *Tārīkh al-Muṣḥaf al-Sharīf*, p.78.
65. Ibid., p.17.
66. Ibid., pp.14-15.
67. *Al-Burhān*, vol.1, p.250; *Tārīkh al-Muṣḥaf al-Sharīf*, p.78.
68. Introduction to the editorial committee of the *Muṣḥaf al-Mālik* annexed to the *khātimah* of the first edition of 1337 AH/1918 AC; *Maʿ al-Maṣāḥif*, pp.129-30.
69. Ibid., *Tārīkh al-Muṣḥaf al-Sharīf*, pp.91-94.
70. Al-Kurdī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, p.160; *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, vol.1, pp.710-11. Ḥājjī Khalīfah points out (p.711) that Abū ʿAlī ibn Muqlah (d. 328 AH/939 AC) was the first to introduce *al-khaṭṭ al-badīʿ* and that he was followed by ʿAlī ibn Hilāl (a.k.a. Ibn al-Bawwāb [d. 413 AH/1022 AC]), the best calligrapher of his time. A copy of a *muṣḥaf* written by him is in Dublin's Chester Beatty Library.
71. Al-Kurdī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, p.410.
72. Ibid.
73. Al-Ṣāliḥ, *Mabāḥith fī ʿUlūm al-Qur'ān*, p.99.
74. Fandik, *Kitāb Iktifā' al-Qanuʿ bi ma Huwa Matbuʿ*, pp.111-12.
75. Al-Ṣāliḥ, *Mabāḥith fī ʿUlūm al-Qur'ān*, p.99.
76. Fandik, *Kitāb Iktifā' al-Qanūʿ bi ma Huwa Maṭbūʿ*, p.112.
77. *Tārīkh al-Muṣḥaf al-Sharīf*, pp.91-92.
78. Al-Ṣāliḥ, *Mabāḥith fī ʿUlūm al-Qur'ān*, p.100. The author, however, has used the wrong date: 1342 AH/1923 AC instead of 1337 AH/1918 AC. See *Maʿ al-Maṣāḥif*, p.103.
79. *Maʿ al-Maṣāḥif*, p.103.
80. For more information about this project, see al-Saʿīd, *Al-Muṣḥaf al-Murattal*, 2nd ed. (Cairo: 1978).

CHAPTER 4

1. See, for example, al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf*; Ibn Jinnī, *Al-Muḥtasib fī Shawādhdh al-Qirā'āt*; Ibn Khālawayh, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Shawādhdh al-Qirā'āt*.
2. *Muqaddimatan*, p.75; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.182.
3. *Muqaddimatan*, p.75; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.183.
4. See, for example, Ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Fiṣāl Min al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, vol.2, p.77; *Muqaddimat Kitāb al-Mabānī*, p.75; *Itqān*, vol.1, pp.220-21.

5. *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, p.53, vol.20, p.251; *Muqaddimatan*, p.75; Ibn al-Bāqillānī, *I'jāz al-Qur'ān*, p.291.
6. *Muqaddimatan*, p.75.
7. *I'jāz al-Qur'ān*, pp.291-92.
8. Ibid., pp.291-97.
9. Ibid., p.292.
10. See, for example, Muqātil, *Tafsīr al-Khams Mi'at Āyah*, 5; al-Akhfash, *Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān*, vol.2, p.551.
11. *Muqaddimatan*, pp.96-97; Qurṭubī, vol.20, p.251.
12. *Qurṭubī*, vol.20, p.251.
13. Ibid., vol.1, p.53.
14. Ibid.
15. *Muqaddimatan*, p.97.
16. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-Musnad*, vol.5, pp.258-59; *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, pp.46-47.
17. *Qurṭubī*, vol.1, pp.53, 58, vol.20, p.251.
18. *I'jāz al-Qur'ān*, pp.291-92.
19. See, for example, al-Albānī, *Al-Aḥādīth al-Ṣaḥīḥah*, vol.2, pp.582-83, hadith no. 891; 249, hadith no. 645; *Sunan Abū Dāwūd*, vol.2, pp.152-53.
20. *Sunan Abū Dāwūd*, vol.2, pp.152-53; al-Suyūṭī, *Lubāb al-Nuqūl fī Asbāb al-Nuzūl*, pp.238-39.
21. *Sunan Abū Dāwūd*, vol.2, p.152.
22. *Al-Maṣāḥif*, pp.82-82; *Muqaddimatan*, p.102; *Materials*, p.227.
23. *Materials*, p.227.
24. Ibid., p.201.
25. Ibid., p.146.
26. *Muqaddimatan*, p.102.
27. *Materials*, p.193.
28. *Muqaddimatan*, pp.103-04.
29. *Itqān*, vol.1, p.216.
30. Ibid.
31. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.28.
32. Al-Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol.2, pp.225-26.
33. Ibid.
34. *Muqaddimatan*, pp.91-93.
35. *Qurṭubī*, vol.2, p.283.
36. *Al-Mustaṣfā*, vol.1, p.102.
37. *Itqān*, vol.1, p.216.
38. Ibid.
39. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.321-30; *Munjid*, pp.17-18. For more discussion, see Chapter 7.
40. *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīt*, vol.1, p.161.
41. *Nashr*, vol.1, pp.26-27.
42. See Chapter 1, p.10.

43. *Qurṭubī*, vol.17, pp.12–13.
44. *Materials*, p.208.
45. *Qurṭubī*, vol.20, p.232.
46. *Materials*, p.78.
47. See Chapter 1, pp.7–10.
48. *Materials*, p.111.
49. Ibid., p.221.
50. Ibid., p.169.
51. See Chapter 1, pp.7–10.
52. *Materials*, p.191.
53. See Chapter 1, pp.7–10.
54. See pp.42–43 of this book.
55. *Madhāhib al-Taṣīr al-Islāmī*, p.21.
56. Ibid.
57. *Al-Qirā'āt wa al-Lahajāt*, p.185.
58. *Ma' al-Maṣāḥif*, p.147.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. *Muqaddimatan*, pp.117–21; *Al-Muqni'*, pp.108–24.
62. *Al-Muqni'*, p.11; *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.30.
63. *Al-Muqni'*, p.115.
64. Ibid., p.123.
65. *Muqaddimatan*, pp.121–33.

CHAPTER 5

1. *Īḍāḥ al-Waqf wa al-Ibtidā'*, vol.1, p.12.
2. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, p.479; *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz*, p.92.
3. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.20; *Kitāb al-Zīnah*, vol.1, p.141.
4. *Īḍāḥ al-Waqf wa al-Ibtidā'*, vol.1, p.13; *Al-Muḥtasib*, vol.1, p.343; *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.27.
5. Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, p.310; *Al-Ṣāḥibī*, p.28; *Al-Muzhir*, vol.1, p.211.
6. Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, p.310.
7. Al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Naḥwiyyīn wa al-Lughawiyyīn*, p.34.
8. Al-Farrā', *Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān*, vol.2, p.339.
9. Ibn Abū Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, p.32.
10. *Al-Kitāb*, vol.2, p.416.
11. Ibid., p.424.
12. Al-Rāfi'ī, *Tārīkh Adab al-'Arab*, vol.1, p.135.
13. *Al-Naqd al-Taḥlīlī*, p.210.
14. 1st ed. (Cairo: 1368 AH/1948 AC).
15. Ibid., pp.4–5.
16. *Ancient West-Arabian*.

17 *Mushkil al-Āthār*, vol.4, p.185; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.135.
18. *Fī al-Adab al-Jāhilī*, p.110.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., pp.110-11.
21. Abū ʿUbayd, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, p.309; Ibn al-Bāqillānī, *Nukat al-Intiṣār*, p.386; *Al-Muzhir*, vol.1, p.210.
22. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol.1, p.588.
23. *Al-Muzhir*, vol.1, p.211; al-Iqtirah, p.22.
24. *Al-ʿAṣr al-Jāhilī*, p.133; *Fī ʿIlm al-Lughah al-ʿAmm*, p.222; al-Rāfiʿī, *Tārīkh Adab al-ʿArab*, vol.1, p.85-90 (2nd ed., 1940).
25. *Al-Ṣāḥibī*, pp.33-34.
26. *Al-Muqaddimah*, p.635.
27. *Al-Muzhir*, vol.1, p.212; *Al-Iqtirāh*, p.23.
28. Edited by ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, 3rd ed. (Cairo: Dar al-Maʿārif, 1969).
29. Ibid., vol.1, p.81.
30. *Al-Muzhir*, vol.1, pp.221-23.
31. *Lahajāt al-Yamān Qadīman wa Ḥadīthan*, pp.47-48.
32. Ibid., p.20.
33. *Al-Ṣāḥibī*, p.33; al-Rāfiʿī, *Tārīkh Adab al-ʿArab*, vol.1, p.85 (2nd ed., 1940).
34. Wāfi, *Fiqh al-Lughah*, p.109; *Fī al-Adab al-Jāhilī*, pp.111-12.
35. Ibid.
36. *Al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn*, vol.4, p.10.
37. Wāfī, *Fiqh al-Lughah*, pp.109-10.
38. *Tārīkh Adab al-ʿArab*, vol.1, p.86.
39. Ḥasan ʿAwn, *Dirāsāt fī al-Lughah wa al-Naḥw*, p.58.
40. *Tārīkh Adab al-ʿArab* (Cairo), vol.1, pp.79-86, 89-90.
41. Abū ʿUbayd, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, p.314; *Itqān*, vol.2, p.4.
42. Al-Mubarrid, *Al-Fāḍil*, pp.113-14; *Itqān*, vol.2, p.5.
43. *Itqān*, vol.2, p.4.
44. Edited by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, 2nd ed., Beirut.
45. Published with *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (Cairo: 1342 AH/1923 AC).
46. *Al-Fihrist*, p.38.
47. Edited by ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar, 1st ed. (Cairo, 1392 AH/1972 AC), 2 vols.
48. Ibid., vol.2, p.267.
49. Al-*Burhān fī ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān*, vol.1, pp.291-96; *Itqān*, vol.2, pp.89-120.
50. Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, *Fuṣūl min Fiqh al-ʿArabiyyah*, 1st ed. (Cairo: 1971), pp.81-82.
51. *Nukat al-Intiṣār li Naql al-Qurʾān*, pp.385-86.
52. Ibid., pp.386-87.
53. *Al-Burhān*, vol.1, p.284; *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.27; Ibn Kathīr, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, p.22; *Itqān*, vol.2, p.103.
54. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.27; *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz*, p.95.
55. *Ibrāz al-Maʿānī*, p.487.

56. Al-*Burhān*, vol.1, pp.295–86; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.103.
57. *Al-Kitāb*, vol.2, p.424.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., vol.1, pp.363–65.
60. *Al-Burhān*, vol.1, p.286; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.103.
61. *Al-Kitāb*, vol.1, p.28.
62. Ibid.
63. *Al-Khaṣā'is*, vol.1, p.125.
64. *Ḥujjat al-Qirā'āt*, p.146; *Al-Muhadhdhab fī al-Qirā'āt al-'Ashr*, vol.1, p.104.
65. *Al-Muḥtasib*, vol.1, p.255.
66. *Al-Muhadhdhab fī al-Qirā'āt al-'Ashr*, vol.1, p.241.
67. See p.62 of this study.
68. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.27.
69. *Al-Muḥtasib*, vol.1, p.343.
70. *Al-Qirā'āt wa at Lahajāt*, p.27.
71. Ibn Kathīr, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, p.22; *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.9, p.27.
72. *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz*, p.101.
73. Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, p.308; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol.1, p.66; *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz*, p.93.
74. Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, p.309.
75. Ibid.; *Al-Muzhir*, vol.1, p.210.
76. *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz*, p.96.
77. Ibid., pp.99–100; *Nashr*, vol.1, p.24; *Manāhil*, vol.1, p.180.
78. *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz*, p.100; *Nashr*, vol.1, p.24.
79. *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz*, p.94; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.135.
80. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol.1, pp.46–47.
81. *Itqān*, vol.1, p.135.
82. *Al-Fāḍil*, p.113.
83. Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, p.309; *Al-Fāḍil*, p.113.
84. *Al-Fāḍil*, p.113.
85. *Al-Ṣāḥibī*, p.52.
86. *Al-Muzhir*, vol.1, p.211.
87. *Muqaddimah*, p.635.
88. *I'jāz al-Qur'ān*, p.65.
89. *Al-Kāmil*, vol.2, p.233.
90. *Al-Muzhir*, vol.1, p.211.
91. Ibid.
92. *I'jāz al-Qur'ān*, p.65.
93. Ibid., pp.70–71.
94. *Al-Muzhir*, vol.1, p.212.
95. *Manāhil*, vol.1, pp.180–81.
96. Ibid.; *Al-Itqān*, vol.1, p.136.
97. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol.1, p.66.

98. *Nashr*, vol.1, pp.24-26, and Chapter 4 of this study.
99. *Itqān*, vol.1, p.102.
100. Ibid., pp.89-104.
101. Ibid., p.168.
102. *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz*, p.94.
103. Ibid., p.96.
104. Ibid., pp.96-96.
105. *Ancient West-Arabian*, p.17.
106. Arberry, *The Seven Odes*, p.240.
107. *Ancient West-Arabian*, p.4.
108. Ibid.
109. *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p.276.
110. Bergsträsser, *Al-Taṭawwur al-Naḥwī*, p.75; Wolfenshon, *Tārīkh al-Lughāt al-Sāmiyyah*, p.157; Johann Fück, *al-ʿArabiyyah*, p.3; Enno Littman, *Arabic Inscriptions* (Leiden: 1914), p.37.
111. Nöldeke, *Die Semitischen Sprachen* (Leipzig: 1899), p.51f.
112. *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī Tārīkh al-ʿArab Qabl al-Islām*, vol.8, p.549.
113. Wāfi, *Fiqh al-Lughah*, p.215.
114. See p.10 of this study.
115. Wāfi, *Fiqh al-Lughah*, p.215.
116. Ibid.
117. Lane, *An Arabic English Lexicon*, book I, part 5, p.1492.
118. Al-Halālī, *Risālah fī al-Tajwīd*, p.156; *Itqān*, vol.2, p.3; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Kitāb Īḍāḥ al-Waqf wa al-Ibtidā'*, vol.1, pp.15-36.
119. *Itqān*, vol.2, p.3.
120. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Īḍāḥ*, vol.1, pp.20, 23.
121. *Die Kairoer Geniza* (London: 1947), pp.78-84.
122. *Al-Muḥkam*, pp.3-7; *Al-Awā'il*, vol.2, pp.107, 130; see Chapter 3 of this book.
123. *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p.276.
124. *Al-Ṣāhibī*, p.76.
125. *Al-Wajīz fī Fiqh al-Lughah*, pp.129-32.
126. *Ancient West-Arabian*, p.17.
127. Sir Charles J. Lyall, *Al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, vol.1, pp.xxv-xxvi.
128. *Ancient West-Arabian*, p.17.
129. Nallino, "Kayfa Nasha'at al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah," *Majallat al-Hilāl* 26, 1 (October 1917): pp.41-48.
130. *Ancient West-Arabian*, p.17.
131. Ibid.
132. *Fiqh al-Lughāt al-Sāmiyyah*, p.30.
133. Published in Cairo by Maṭba'at al-Sa'ādah in 1929.
134. Ibid., p.27.
135. *Tārīkh al-Lughāt al-Sāmiyyah*, p.166.

136. *Tārīkh al-Adab al-ʿArab: al-ʿAṣr al-Jāhilī*, p.77.
137. *Ancient West-Arabian*, p.3.
138. *The Arabic Language Today*, p.13.
139. Ibid.
140. C. Rabin, art. "ʿArabiyya," *E.I.*[2], vol.1, p.565.
141. Oxford University Press, 1977.
142. Ibid., pp.85-118.
143. A. T. Welch, art. "al-Kurʾan," *E.I.*[2], vol.5, p.419.
144. *Introduction to the Qurʾan*, p.84.
145. Tammām Ḥassan, *Al-Lughah bayn al-Miʿyāriyyah wa al-Waṣfiyyah*, pp.61-62.
146. *Fiqh al-Lughah al-ʿArabiyyah*, p.111.
147. *Language: A Linguistic Introduction to History*, p.261.
148. *Fiqh al-Lughah al-ʿArabiyyah*, pp.111-12.
149. Hammudah, *Al-Qirāʾāt wa al-Lahajāt* (Cairo: 1948); Shahin, *Fī ʿIlm al-Lughah al-ʿAmm* (Cairo: 1980); Mahdī al-Makhzūmī, *Madrasat al-Kūfah* (Baghdad: 1955).
150. *Al-Qirāʾāt wa al-Lahajāt*, p.30.
151. *Fī al-Lahajāt al-ʿArabiyyah*, p.32.
152. *Min Asrār al-Lughah*, p.215.
153. *Mustaqbal al-Lughah al-ʿArabiyyah*, p.9.
154. *Fuṣūl min Fiqh al-ʿArabiyyah*, p.69.
155. Ibid.
156. *Al-Naqd al-Taḥlīlī*, p.210.
157. Nöldeke, *Die Semitischen Sprachen*.
158. Nallino, "Kayfa Nashaʾat al-Lughah al-ʿArabiyyah," pp.41-48; *E.I.*[2], vol.1, p.565; C. Rabin, art. "ʿArabiyya."
159. ʿAbduh al-Rājiḥī, *Al-Lahajāt al-ʿArabiyyah fī al-Qirāʾāt al-Qurʾāniyyah* (Cairo: 1968).
160. Shawqī Ḍayf, *Al-ʿAṣr al-Jāhilī*, pp.133-37; Naṣlah, *Lughāt al-Qurʾān fī Juzʾ ʿAmma*, pp.74-75.
161. Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddimah*, p.635; Shawqī Ḍayf, *Al-ʿAṣr al-Jāhilī*, pp.136-37; *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī Tārīkh al-Naḥw al-ʿArabī*, p.18.
162. *Khizanāt al-Adab*, vol.1, pp.5-6; *Tārīkh Adab al-ʿArab*, vol.1, p.338.
163. *Al-Muzhir*, vol.1, p.211.
164. *Tārīkh Adab al-ʿArab*, vol.1, pp.128, 345; *Ṭuruq Tanmiyat al-Alfāẓ*, pp.11-12.
165. *Aswāq al-ʿArab*, pp.342-43; Lane, *Lexicon*, vi (introduction).
166. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah* vol.7, pp.357-427; Ibn Saʿd, *Al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol.1, pp.258-358; Shawqī, *Al-ʿAṣr al-Jāhilī*, p.134; al-Ghamrāwī. *Al-Naqd al-Taḥlīlī*, pp.210-11.
167. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, p.479; *Ibānah*, p.33; *Al-ʿArabiyyah*, p.4; *Al-Taṭawwur al-Naḥwī*, p.27; *Al-Munjid*, p.22; *Al-Muqniʿ*, p.114.

168. Abū Shāmah, *Ibrāz al-Ma'ānī*, p.383; al-Bannā, *Itḥāf Fudalā' al-Bashar*, p.193.

CHAPTER 6

1. See Chapter 2, pp.25, 28.
2. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, pp.87-88.
3. Ibid., pp.456-57.
4. *Sirat Ibn Isḥāq*, pp.161-62.
5. Ibid., p.128.
6. *Ghāyat Al-Nihāyah*, vol.2, p.299.
7. Al-Zinjani, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, p.40.
8. *Tartīb al-Musnad*, vol.18, p.9.
9. Ibid.
10. See Chapter 2, p.15 in this book.
11. *Al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol.7, pp.5-493.
12. Ibid., vol.2, pp.356-57.
13. Ibid., vol.6, pp.3-14.
14. Ibid., vol.2, p.345.
15. *Manāhil*, vol.1, pp.403-04; *Ma' al-Maṣāḥif*, pp.90-91; see Chapter 2, p.48.
16. *Al-Muqni'*, pp.123-24; *Nashr*, vol.1, p.33.
17. *Al-Muqni'*, p.109.
18. *Al-Muḥkam*, 2.; also see Chapter 3, pp.106-09.
19. *Al-Fatāwā*, vol.12, pp.100-01; *Nashr*, vol.1, pp.7-8; *Al-Ibānah*, p.68.
20. *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, vol.3, p.151; also see Chapter 3, p.107.
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22. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.8.
23. For an explanation of this term, see Chapter 7.
24. *Nashr*, vol.1, pp.8-9.
25. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, pp.482-83.
26. *Munjid*, pp.16-17; *Nashr*, vol.1, p.14; *Laṭā'if*, vol.1, p.64; *Itqān*, vol.1, pp.213-14.
27. *Lisān al-'Arab*, vol.10, p.386.
28. *Ibrāz al-Ma'ānī*, p.397.
29. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.17.
30. *Al-Ibānah*, pp.69-73; *Itqān*, vol.1, p.211.
31. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, p.482.
32. Al-Ja'burī, *Kanz al-Ma'ānī*, fol. 15.
33. *Bukhārī*, vol.6, pp.481-83.
34. Ibid., pp.482-83, 485-86.
35. See p.31 of this book.
36. See p.124 below.
37. *Laṭā'if al-Ishārāt*, vol.1, p.66.
38. *Al-Ibānah*, p.53.
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55. *Ghayth al-Nafʿ*, p.6.
56. Ibid., p.7.
57. Al-Zafzāf, *Al-Taʿrīf bi al-Qurʾān wa al-Ḥadīth*, pp.54-55.
58. *Nukat al-Intiṣār*, p.60; *Munjid*, p.52; *Nashr*, vol.1, p.17; *Ghāyat Al-Nihāyah*, vol.2, pp.124-25.
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73. *Nashr*, vol.1, pp.7-8.
74. *Al-Fihrist*, pp.34-35; *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz*, p.190.
75. *Al-Fihrist*, p.34; *Al-Tibyān*, p.99; *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz*, pp.188-89; *Munjid*, p.17.

76. For more information, see Chapter 4.
77. *Nashr*, vol.1, pp.16-17.
78. This will be treated in Chapter 7.
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80. *Al-Ibānah*, pp.51-52.
81. *Nashr*, vol.1, pp.14-16.
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83. *Munjid*, pp.16-17.
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91. Ibid., vol.1, pp.215-16.
92. *Laṭā'if al-Ishārāt*, vol.1, p.170; *Al-Baḥr*, vol.2, p.324.
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156. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.34; *Laṭā'if*, vol.1, p.85.
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162. *Laṭā'if*, vol.1, p.86.
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170. *Laṭā'if*, vol.1, pp.77, 170.
171. *Munjid*, p.16.

CHAPTER 7

1. *Al-Tibyān*, p.99.
2. See Chapter 6, pp.119-25.
3. *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz*, p.172; *Al-Ibānah*, p.89.
4. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.51.
5. *Ghāyat al-Nihāyah*, vol.2, p.43.
6. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.37.
7. Ibid.
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9. Ibid., p.62.
10. See Chapter 6.
11. *Al-Fihrist*, p.65.
12. Ibid., p.86.
13. Ibid., pp.38, 68-69.
14. Ibid., pp.35-36.
15. Ibid., p.35.
16. Ibid., p.50.
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26. Ibid., p.54.
27. Ibid., p.82.
28. *Ghāyat al-Nihāyah*, vol.1, p.290.
29. *Nukat al-Intiṣār*, p.417.
30. Ibid., p.418.
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33. *Al-Intiṣār* with *Al-Kashshāf*, vol.2, pp.69–70.
34. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.44.
35. *Nukat al-Intiṣār*, pp.321–30; *Munjid*, pp.17–18.
36. For more information, see Chapter 4.
37. Goldziher, *Al-Madhāhib al-Islāmiyyah*, p.17; c.f. *Madhāhib al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī*, p.19.
38. *Al-Qirā'āt wa al-Lahajāt*, pp.192–93.
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59. See, for example. Brockelmann, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī*, vol.1, p.134; *Al-Madhāhib al-Islāmiyyah*, p.4; c.f. Goldziher, *Madhāhib al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī*, p.8; al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Furqān*, p.22 (also p.17); al-Ibyari, *Al-Mawsū'ah al-Qur'āniyyah*, vol.1, p.80; al-Khū'ī, *Al-Bayān*, p.181.
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80. For the text of this hadith and others, see *Qurṭubī*, vol.15, pp.70-71.
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99. *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, vol.5, p.354.
100. *Al-Kashshāf*, vol.3, p.510.
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113. *Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān wa I'rābuhu*, vol.1, p.195.
114. Anonymous, see *Muqaddimatan*, p.116.
115. *Muqaddimatan*, p.116.
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117. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.48.
118. *Al-Madhāhib al-Islāmiyyah*, p.18; c.f. *Madhāhib al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī*, pp.29–31.
119. Ibid.
120. *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, vol.7, p.161; *Qurṭubī*, 14:4; al-Alūsī, *Rūḥ al-Ma'ānī*, 21:17.
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122. Al-Alūsī, *Rūḥ al-Ma'ānī*, vol.21, p.17.
123. Ibid.; Hammudah, *Al-Qirā'āt wa al-Lahajāt*, p.198.
124. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf*, vol.3, p.467.
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127. *Al-Muqni'*, p.124.
128. Ibid., pp.124–25.
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146. Included in *Muqaddimatan*.
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159. *Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān*, vol.1, pp.357-58; see pp.170-71 of this study.
160. *Marātib al-Naḥwiyyīn*, p.26.
161. 'Udaymah, ed., "Introduction," *al-Muqtaḍab*, vol.1, p.111.
162. *Al-Kāmil*, vol.3, p.39.
163. *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, vol.3, p.157.
164. *Tafsīr*, vol.5, p.2.
165. *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, vol.3, p.157. For more information, see pp.164-65 of this book.
166. *Al-Muḥtasib*, vol.1, pp.85-86; vol.2, pp.27, 252.
167. Ibid., vol.1, pp.240-43; *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ*, vol.1, pp.72-73.
168. *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, vol.5, p.419.
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170. *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, vol.6, p.193.
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173. Ibid., vol.3, p.157.
174. Ibid.; *Al-Kashshāf*, vol.1, p.462; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol.3, pp.519-20; *Al-Baḥr at Muḥīṭ*, vol.3, p.158.
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180. *Al-Kashshāf*, vol.2, p.70.
181. *Al-Intiṣāf*, with *Al-Kashshāf*, vol.2, p.69.
182. *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, vol.4, p.229.
183. *Nashr*, vol.1, p.114.
184. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol.7, p.25f.
185. Al-Rāzī, *Mafātiḥ al-Ghayb*, vol.3, p.193.
186. 'Udaymah, *Dirāsāt li Uṣlūb al-Qur'ān al-Karīm*, vol.1, pp.5-13.
187. Ibid., 22-25.

Abbreviations

Abū ʿUbayd, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān* – Abū ʿUbayd, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān wa Maʿālimuh wa Ādābūh.*

Al-Awāʾil – al-ʿAskarī, *Al-Awāʾil.*

Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ – Abū Ḥayyān, *Tafsīr al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ.*

Bayān – al-Khūʾī, *Al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān.*

Al-Bidāyah wa Al-Nihāyah – Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh.*

Al-Budūr al-Zāhirah – al-Qāḍī, *Al-Budūr al-Zāhirah fī al-Qirāʾāt al-ʿAshr al-Mutawātirah min Ṭarīqay al-Shāṭibiyyah wa al-Durrī.*

Bukhārī – al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ* or *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī.*

Bulūgh al-Amānī – al-Bannā, *Bulūgh al-Amānī min Asrār al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī.*

Burhān – al-Zarkashī, *Al-Burhān fī ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān.*

Concluding Essay – Jeffery, *Concluding Essay on the Materials for the History of the Text of the Qurʾan.*

Ḍayf, *Al-ʿAṣr al-Jāhilī* – Ḍayf, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-ʿArabī: al-ʿAṣr al-Jāhilī.*

Dhawq al-Ḥalāwah – al-Ghamārī, *Dhawq al-Ḥalāwah bi Bayān Imtināʿ Naskh al-Tilāwah.*

Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-Khaṭṭ al-ʿArabī – al-Munajjid, *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-Khaṭṭ al-ʿArabī mundh Bidāyatihi ilā Nihāyat al-ʿAṣr al-Umnawī.*

E.I.[1], *E.I.*[2] – *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st and 2nd editions.

Fatāwā – Ibn Taymiyyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah.*

Fatḥ al-Bārī – Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī bi Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī.*

Al-Fihrist – al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist.*

Fück, *Al-ʿArabiyyah* – Fück, *Al-ʿArabiyyah Dirāsāt fī al-Lahajāt wa al-Asālīb.*

Funūn al-Afnān – Ibn al-Jawzī, *Funūn al-Afnān fī ʿUyūn ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān.*

Gharāʾib al-Qurʾān – al-Nīsābūrī, *Tafsīr Gharāʾib al-Qurʾān wa Raghāʾib al-Furqān.*

Ghāyat al-Nihāyah – Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-Nihāyah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrāʾ Dhawī al-Dirāyah.*

Ghayth al-Nafʿ – al-Safāqsī, *Ghayth al-Nafʿ fī al-Qirāʾāt al-Sabʿ.*

Al-Ḥākim – al-Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn.*

Ibānah – al-Qaysī, *Al-Ibānah ʿan Maʿānī al-Qirāʾāt.*

Īḍāḥ – Ibn al-Anbārī, *Kitāb Īḍāh al-Waqf wa al-Ibtidāʾ fī Kitāb Allāh ʿAzza wa Jall.*

Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* – Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-Aẓīm.*

Ibrāz al-Maʿānī – Abū Shāmah, *Ibrāz al-Maʿānī min Ḥirz al-Amānī.*

Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd – Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd.*
Al-Iqtirāḥ – al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Iqtirāḥ fī Uṣūl al-Naḥw.*
Irshād al-Sārī – al-Qasṭallānī, *Irshād al-Sārī bi Sharḥ Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī.*
Al-Istiʿāb – Ibn ʿAbd al-Bārr, *Al-Istiʿāb fī Maʿrifat al-Aṣḥāb.*
Itḥāf – al-Dimyāṭī, *Itḥāf Fudalāʾ al-Bashar bi Qirāʾāt al-Arbaʿat ʿAshar.*
Itqān – al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān fī ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān.*
Al-Kalimāt al-Ḥisān – al-Muṭīʿī, *Al-Kalimāt al-Ḥisān fī al-Ḥurūf al-Sabʿah wa Jamʿ al-Qurʾān.*
Al-Kāmil – Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh.*
Kanz al-Maʿānī – al-Jaʿburī, *Kanz al-Maʿānī fī Sharḥ Ḥirz al-Amānī wa Wajh al-Tahānī.*
Kashf al-Ẓunūn – Hajjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn ʿan Asāmī al-Kutub wa al-Funūn.*
Al-Kashshāf – al-Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf ʿan Ḥaqāʾiq Ghawāmiḍ al-Tanzīl wa ʿUyūn al-Aqāwīl fī Wujūh al-Taʾwīl.*
Kitāb al-Sabʿah – Ibn Mujāhid, *Kitāb al-Sabʿah fī al-Qirāʾāt.*
Kitāb al-Zīnah – al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Zīnah fī al-Kalimāt al-Islāmiyyah al-ʿArabiyyah.*
Khizānat al-Adab – al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab wa Lubb Lubāb Lisān al-ʿArab.*
Al-Kurdī, *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān* – al-Kurdī, *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān al-Karīm wa Gharāʾib Rasmih wa Ḥukmih.*
Lane – Lane, *Madd al-Qāmūs: Arabic-English Lexicon.*
Laṭāʾif – al-Qasṭallānī – *Laṭāʾif al-Ishārāt li Funūn al-Qirāʾāt.*
Lisān al-ʿArab – Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab.*
Mabānī Anon. – ed. Jeffery, *Kitāb al-Mabānī fī Naẓm al-Maʿānī* (See Jeffery, *Muqaddimatan fī ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān*).
Maʿa al-Masāḥif – Yūsuf Ibrāhīm al-Nur, *Maʿa al-Masāḥif.*
Al-Madhāhib al-Islāmiyyah fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-Karīm – Goldziher, *Al-Madhāhib al-Islāmiyyah fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-Karīm*, translated from the German (*Die Richtungen der Islamischen Koranauslegung*), by ʿAlī Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Qādir.
Madhāhib al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī – Goldziher, *Madhāhib al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī*, translated from the German (*Die Richtungen der Islamischen Koranauslegung*), by ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm al-Najjār.
Madrasat al-Kūfah – al-Makhzūmī, *Madrasat al-Kūfah wa Manhajuhā fī Dirāsāt al-Lughah wa al-Naḥw.*
Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb – al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb.*
Manāhil – al-Zurqānī, *Manāhil al-ʿIrfān fī ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān.*
Marātib al-Naḥawiyyīn – Al-Ḥalabī, *Marātib al-Naḥawiyyīn.*
Maʿrifat al-Qurrāʾ al-Kibār – al-Dhahabī, *Maʿrifat al-Qurrāʾ al-Kibār ʿalā al-Ṭabaqāt wa al-Aʿṣār.*
Al-Maṣāḥif – Ibn Abū Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif.*
Materials – Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qurʾan.*
Miftāḥ al-Saʿādah – Ṭashkubrī Zādah, *Miftāḥ al-Saʿādah wa Miṣbāḥ al-Siyādah fī Mawḍūʿāt al-ʿUlūm.*

Al-Muhadhdhab – Muḥaysin, *Al-Muhadhdhab fī al-Qirā'at al-ʿAshr wa Tawjīhuha min Lughāt al-ʿArab.*
Al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz – Abū Shāmah, *Al-Murshid al-Wajīz ila ʿUlūm Tataʿallaq bi al-Kitāb al-ʿAzīz.*
Al-Muḥkam – al-Dānī, *Al-Muḥkam fī Naqṭ al-Maṣāḥif.*
Al-Muḥtasib – Ibn Jinnī, *Al-Muḥtasib fī Tabyīn Wujūh Shawādhdh al-Qirā'āt wa al-Īḍāḥ ʿanhā.*
Muʿjam ma Istaʿjam – al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam ma Istaʿjam min Asmā' al-Bilād wa al-Mawāḍiʿ.*
Mukhtaṣar – Ibn Khālawayh, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Shawādhdh al-Qirā'āt.*
Munjid – Ibn al-Jazarī, *Munjid al-Muqriʾīn wa Murshid al-Ṭālibīn.*
Muqaddimatān – ed. Jeffery, *Muqaddimatān fī ʿUlūm al-Qur'ān.*
Al-Muqniʿ – al-Dānī, *Al-Muqniʿ fī Rasm Maṣāḥif al-Amṣār.*
Mushkil al-Āthār – al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Mushkil al-Āthār.*
Musnad – Ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-Musnad.*
Al-Muzhir – al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Muzhir fī al-Lughah wa Anwāʿihā.*
Al-Naqd al-Taḥlīlī – al-Ghamrāwī, *Al-Naqd al-Taḥlīlī li Kitāb fī al-Adab al-Jāhilī.*
Al-Nasā'ī – al-Nasā'ī, Sunan al-Nasā'ī, *al-Mujtaba.*
Nashr – Ibn al-Jazarī, *Al-Nashr fī al-Qirā'āt al-ʿAshr.*
Al-Naskh fī al-Qur'ān al-Karīm – Abū Zayd, *Al-Naskh fī al-Qur'ān al-Karīm: Dirāsah Tashrīʿiyyah Tārikhiyyah Naqdiyyah.*
Nihāyah – Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Nihāyah fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth wa al-Āthār.*
Nukat al-Intiṣār – Ibn al-Bāqillānī, *Nukat al-Intiṣār li Naql Maṣāḥif al-Amṣār.*
Qāmūs – al-Fayrūzābādī, *Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ.*
Al-Qirā'āt al-Mashhūrah – Ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Qirā'āt al-Mashhūrah fī al-Amṣār al-Ātiyah Majīʿ al-Tawātur.*
Qurṭubī – al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmiʿ li Aḥkām al-Qur'ān.*
Al-Rawḍ al-Unuf – al-Suhaylī, *Al-Rawḍ al-Unuf fī Sharḥ Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah li Ibn Hishām.*
Al-Riyāḍ al-Mustaṭābah – al-ʿĀmirī, *Al-Riyāḍ al-Mustaṭābah fī Jumlat Man Rawā fī al-Ṣaḥīḥayn min al-Ṣaḥābah.*
Rūḥ al-Maʿānī – al-Alūsī, *Rūḥ al-Maʿānī fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-ʿAẓīm wa al-Sabʿ al-Mathānī.*
Al-Ṣāḥibī – Ibn Zakariyyā, *Al-Ṣāḥibī*
Sharḥ al-Sunnah – al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-Sunnah.*
Al-Shifā' – al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Al-Shifā' bi Taʿrīf Ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā.*
Sīrat Ibn Hishām – Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah.*
Sīrat Ibn Isḥāq – Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrat Ibn Isḥāq.*
Subḥ al-Aʿshā – al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-Aʿshā fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshā.*
Sunan Abū Dāwūd – Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan Abū Dāwūd.*
Sunan Ibn Mājah – Ibn Mājah, *Sunan Ibn Mājah.*
Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāẓ – al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāẓ.*
Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* – al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān ʿan Taʾwīl al-Qur'ān.*

Tadhkirāt al-Ḥuffāẓ – al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*.
Tafsīr al-Khams Mi'at Āyah – Muqātil, *Tafsīr al-Khams Mi'at Āyah min al-Qur'ān fī al-Amr wa al-Nahyi wa al-Ḥalāl wa al-Ḥarām*.
Tafsīr al-Manār – Riḍā, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Ḥakīm*.
Tafsīr al-Marāghī – al-Marāghī, *Tafsīr al-Marāghī*.
Tafsīr al-Qummī – al-Qummī, *Tafsīr al-Qummī*.
Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī – al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk*.
Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī – al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*.
Tartīb al-Musnad – al-Bannā, *Al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī li Tartīb Musnad Aḥmad ibn Hanbal al-Shaybānī*.
Al-Taṭawwur al-Naḥwī – Bergstraesser, *Al-Taṭawwur al-Naḥwī li al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah*.
Ta'wil – Ibn Qutaybah, *Ta'wil Mushkil al-Qur'ān*.
Thimār al-Qulūb – al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Qulūb fī al-Muḍāf wa al-Manṣūb*.
Al-Tamhīd – Ibn al-Bāqillānī, *Al-Tamhīd fī al-Radd 'alā al-Mu'aṭṭilah wa al-Rāfiḍāh wa al-Khawārij wa al-Mu'tazilah*.
Al-Tibyān – al-Nawawī, *Al-Tibyān fī Adab Hamalat al-Qur'ān*.
Al-Tūsī, *Al-Tibyān* – al-Tūsī, *Al-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*.
Al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī* – al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*.

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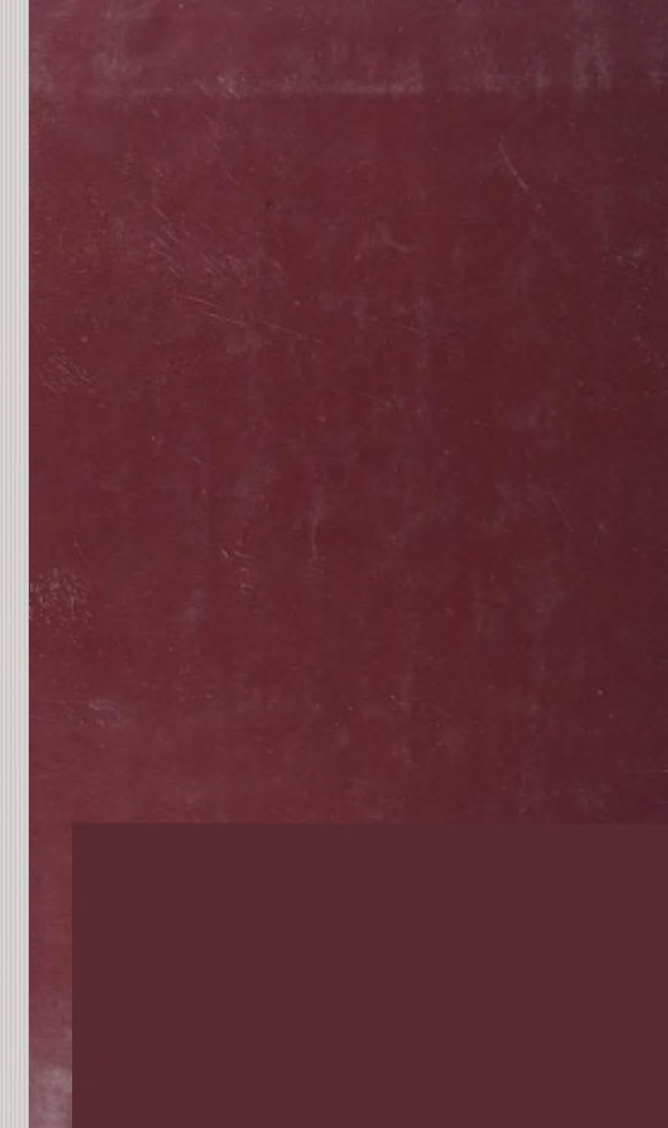
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